The History *of* Nations

COLONIES
DOMINIONS AND MANDATES

MEMORIAL
EDITION

THE HISTORY OF NATIONS

HENRY CABOT LODGE, Ph. D., LL. D. · EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

COLONIES OF THE WORLD

BY EDWARD JAMES PAYNE, M. A.
REVISED AND EDITED BY
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THE PHILIPPINES

UNDER AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

BY JEREMIAH WHIPPLE JENKS, Ph. D., LL. D

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NOTE

The editors of "The History of Nations" concluded their work with the chronicling of events to October, 1905, and all additions thereafter, bringing the histories to date, have been supplied by the publishers.

PREFACE

In this edition the chapters relating to the history of the Latin American republics since their independence have been omitted to adapt the volume to this series. Their place has been supplied by a short account of the oversea colonial expansion of the European powers and of the United States since the issue of the first edition. The wonderful internal colonization of the West by the United States and of Siberia by Russia lies outside of our field. The far-reaching changes of the thirty years have put colonization in a new light and made necessary many changes in the portion of the original edition which has been retained, and the present editor is alone responsible for the text now printed. I take this opportunity to gratefully acknowledge the helpful suggestions and advice which I have received from my colleagues, Professors Edward G. Bourne and Albert G. Keller.

Philip P. Wells

Yale University

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PART I

RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE OLD COLONIAL SYSTEM

1450-1800

COLONIES OF THE WORLD

Chapter I

OLD EUROPE AND NEW EUROPE

THE history that we are going to write is a singular one. Most histories consist in putting together the events of some cycle that is past and gone. Such are the histories of the ancient empires of western Asia, of Egypt, of the people of Israel, of the Greek Republics, and of Rome. Other histories deal with some cycle of events that is still going on, but is advanced enough to be completely defined in its tendency, and in the bearing on each other of the events it includes. Such are the histories of the existing nations of the Old World. The history that we are going to write deals with a cycle of events that has hardly yet begun. Other histories commonly deal with events that have happened mostly in some one definite space on the earth's face; the events of the present history are scattered all over it. Most histories treat of a single people or group of peoples; the present history, though it has mainly to do with the peoples of Western Europe, has something to do with almost every people that exists on the face of the earth. The main events of this history are not easy to apprehend as a whole, partly because they stand very near to us in time, and partly because they have happened very far from us and from each other in space, so that altogether we shall have to get out of many of our settled habits of thinking about history, or at least we must not think of comparing this history with such histories as those of Greece and England in all their completeness. The history we are going to write is that of the "new" Europe, that is, of Europe beyond seas; of America, Australia, South Africa, and other places where European communities are growing up away from their native soil. These nations are colonies, or offshoots, of the old Europe; and they have been planted at different times within the last four hundred years. To the historian this is but a short space of time. This world of nations that we are going to write about is an infant world: and the history we are going to write is something like what a history of the Jews would have been in the time of Joshua, or a history of Greece in the time of Agamemnon, or the history of England in the time of Alfred the Great. But it is on a much bigger scale than any of these; it is in fact on about as big a scale as the history of anything upon this globe can possibly be. On the other hand, the main changes which have directed the course of the present history are few in number and easily remembered, so that if we once understand them well, half the difficulty of the business will be over. Although this history drops at length into the common historical forms, and deals with generals and emperors, ministers and parties, revolutions and constitutions, we shall find that for a long time it is chiefly a history of the ventures of merchants and planters, and that its mainsprings are navigation and trade. After an episode or two of mediæval conquest, it will turn to a history of commercial navigation; of the quest of spices and metals, coffee and sugar, wool and hides. Its leading types, such as the quick-witted Athenian is for the history of Greece, and the Norman baron in the midst of his liege men for the history of England, will be the grave merchant of Amsterdam, or Bristol, or Lisbon, in his counting-house; the bronzed skipper, lading his unwieldy hulk in the Indian roadstead; the Western planter among his canes, and the half-breed miner toiling on the slopes of the South American Cordillera. As we go on we shall see these things exercising a surprising change upon European ideas. We shall see a mediæval military order turning West Indian planters; religious bodies founding American states; the European world leaving off fighting for religion, and fighting for sugar hogsheads instead; the outcasts of the Batavian marshes suddenly becoming the first nation in Europe, and The Hague the center of the world's diplomacy; the humble trade-guild grown into the rich and powerful commercial company, and the commercial company speedily transformed into a sovereign power, holding in its hands the welfare of millions. We shall see revolutions in national finance, feel the social balance of old kingdoms displaced by colonial wealth, and listen to dreams of making the fortune of everybody in the old Europe at the expense of the new. We shall see the old Europe finally wax fat and dull with its unnatural prosperity, and the face of affairs change; the decline of the old Europe now becomes the rise of the new. We shall then see colonial empires, built up by generations of acute statesmen, totter to their ruin, and two of the proudest monarchies the world has ever seen humbled in the dust one after the other before their outlawed subjects. We shall see a revolution of races—the despised negro expelling his master from the fairest regions of the earth, which he had been forced thither to cultivate like a beast of labor, and asserting for himself a place among civilized nations: and even the American Indian rising up at last to shake off the control of the priest and the government official. We shall see political movements derived from the Old World reflected on a vaster scale in the New; and the beginnings made of a history whose development the wisest cannot forecast. These beginnings are all that we can study; but, if we please, we can study them very thoroughly. For the whole of this history has taken place since the invention of printing. Records have been kept of it in abundance; and the historian of new Europe will be the first historian who goes to work armed completely with facts.

We have said that to gain a proper idea of this cycle of events we shall have to travel a long way from our everyday historical point of view. First, we must figure to ourselves the peoples of western Europe as a group apart from the rest of the world. Somewhere about three thousand years ago certain peoples belonging to what is called the Aryan family of peoples started westward from the plateaus of central Asia, and wandered into the southern parts of that great Asiatic peninsula which is called Europe. Others followed them, and settled in the middle and northern parts of the peninsula, and constitute the beginnings of the Greek, Roman, Celtic, and Teutonic peoples. Little is known about this exodus or out-wandering of the Aryans, but it is the main event which leads up to another great event which happened above two thousand years afterward, and is the beginning of the history we are about to write. As the exodus by land of the western Aryans is to the history of Greece, Rome, and modern Europe, so is the exodus by sea of the western Europeans to the history of the new nations that are now settled on the shores of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Those of these western Aryans who afterward became the most famous had settled on the shores of what was to them a vast inland sea. To us who know the map of the world, the Mediterranean seems but a creek in the great ocean; in these days people perhaps consider too little how much the great world is indebted to this inland sea for its progress. Here, during many centuries, certain of these peoples practiced and improved the art of navigation, which they learned from the Egyptians, that ancient people who already had lived for centuries on the banks of the river Nile. These peoples traveled about on its tideless waters in fair weather with ease: following the example of the Phœnicians, another Asiatic people, they began to trade with their neighbors, and to make settlements for themselves on other promising shores; and thus on a small scale these western Aryan peoples did on the Mediterranean what the western European peoples afterward did on the Atlantic. The shores of the Mediterranean have been the school of the world. It was here that most of the arts and sciences were first cultivated, and the first commercial supremacy was established. Commercial supremacy is always shifting, or tending to shift, from one nation to another, and the change in commercial supremacy is generally followed by a corresponding change in the supremacy of the arts and sciences. Such a change, on a great scale, followed the enterprise of the western European peoples on the Atlantic. Ever since the end of the fifteenth century the lead of the world in everything has been gradually transferring itself to the shores of the Atlantic; first to the western shores of Europe, and thence to the eastern shores of America. Hitherto, partly through the contrivances of statesmen, partly through the natural laws which guide the growth and intercourse of peoples, a strong connection has been maintained between Europe and the New World. Europe is still giving out to America as fast as she can her stores of capital, population, knowledge, and skill. Every day America from north to south, is becoming more and more like the old Europe; and the old Europe has been at the same time deriving some substantial benefits in exchange. The new Europe has developed an abundance of public spirit, and a steady and rapid determination for social and civil progress which has reacted powerfully upon the old. The circulation of life goes on there faster, and on a bigger scale. The nations are more fused into a whole; and what cultivation and improvement America gets sinks quickly through the entire people. America has shown Europe how to educate the whole nation; how to organize political action in a peaceful way over an immense area; how to economize labor. The second era of European history, that of a substantial connection between new Europe and old Europe, is still subsisting. Probably it will not subsist always. Just as the new Europe has won its political independence, it will no doubt in the course of time drift into moral and social independence. Within a brief period of time there will be two hundred and fifty millions of English-speaking people in the United States alone. This must necessarily work some great change in the relations of the Old World and the New, but it is impossible to guess what or how great that change will be.

Between the exodus of the western Aryans to Europe and that of the western Europeans to America comes a third fact of the highest importance in this history: the growth of the great Roman Empire, which began about two thousand years ago. It was the Romans who first found out how to govern not only with firmness, but on just and rational principles; and we know well how much our modern civilization owes in various ways to Rome. The empire of the Romans strengthened the European races; it gave birth, in fact, to modern Europe; and the main division in the history which we are about to write springs directly from the shape which was given to it. The Roman Empire spread over Europe by several stages. It decayed when it was at its biggest, and therefore those nations which had come last within its boundaries had least of its character impressed upon them. Now Spain, Portugal, and France, three of the nations with which we shall have to do, came under it in comparatively early times. They all got thoroughly Romanized, and their language, laws, customs, and government, to this day bear the stamp of that mighty old people which contributed so much to the formation of modern Europe. But there were branches of the western Aryans whom the Romans could never subdue. These were the peoples who had settled, as we have said, in the middle parts of Europe. They were mostly of what is called the Teutonic or German branch; and while the peoples of southern Europe were being molded like clay by the genius of Rome, these Teutonic peoples kept their primitive life, which was not far removed from that of their ancestors when they dwelt by the streams which are fed by the snows of the Hindoo Koosh. Out of this Teutonic branch came the English and the Dutch; peoples rougher, stronger, and more independent than those which had been cast in the Roman mold. We have thus two predominant types in the western nations, the Teutonic and the Romanized, or as some call them, from the speech which the Romans had taught them, the "Latin" peoples. This is not strictly correct: for by "Latin" the Romans meant the very opposite of that vulgar Italian tongue which was the basis of the speech of what we call the Latin peoples. It is for want of a better name that we call the non-Teutonic colonial nations the "Latin" nations. We must not, however, suppose that this division is a hard and fast one. The organization of the Italian republics of the Middle Ages has nothing of the "Latin" character about it; and these republics exercised a strong influence on the political growth of England and Holland. The people of northern France and Spain, the hardy Norman sailors who sailed off to the St. Lawrence, and the Biscayans who followed an adventurous leader round the stormy Horn, and colonized Chile, were more like the English and Dutch than the churchmen and lawyers who shaped the destinies of New Spain; and the English and Dutch also borrowed certain ideas on government and commerce from the Latin peoples, especially that famous one of confining the trade of their colonies to the mother country, which for so many years hindered the growth of the New World. In the later stage of history, since this system has been abolished, the old contrast of the Teutonic and the Latin type has shone out more strongly than ever; and as events have gone far enough to show that the Teutonic race has done better in the New World than any other, the Latin peoples have of late years been assimilating themselves to it as fast as they can. Some of the legacies of the Roman Empire nevertheless remain among the Latin peoples of the Old and the New World. The chief difficulty in the way of liberalizing the Latin peoples, that is, of converting them to the English or Teutonic standard, lies in a stereotyped oligarchical government, standing armies, and clericalism: and all these are legacies in one way or another of the Roman Empire to the Latin peoples.

If we take a general survey of history, we find that of all types of mankind the European type stands highest. As this type has determined the form of the history we are going to write, we must say from what it proceeds. Europe is a moral essence, not a name denoting race or locality. The Phœnician and Hebrew peoples, who are not of Aryan descent, are entirely European in their character. These peoples have indeed contributed on the whole perhaps as much as Greece itself to the formation of what is called the European type. The Phœnicians taught Europe the arts of trade and colonization. It was they who performed the most extraordinary feat in ancient history, the circumnavigation of the Cape of Good Hope above two thousand years before Vasco da Gama;[1] and we may be sure that without the struggle with Carthage Rome would never have played so important a part in history. The more we think about the Phœnicians, the more we see how much Europe owes to this extraordinary people. Of them we learned to read and write: it is literally true that the Phœnicians taught Europe its A B C. Nearly three thousand years ago Phœnicia was to the world of the Mediterranean very much what England in our age became to that of the Atlantic; everywhere she exported her manufactures of wool, bronze, pottery, and glass, and waxed rich and powerful by the exchange. To the fine genius of the Hebrew people Europe owes still more. Though learned men have argued that the primitive Aryans had originally a belief in one God, all that we know of them proves their religious instincts to have been essentially polytheistic. Europe is indebted to the Hebrews for that great and profound religious conception which has for fifteen hundred years and more been an inseparable part of its being. We cannot conceive Europe without Christianity. Though we shall be able to say but little of the spread of the great European religion in the new Europe, it must never be forgotten that this religion, to a greater or less extent, went with the European settlers everywhere. The organization of the Hebrew republic, as described in the Pentateuch, is one of the most interesting and important facts in the history of politics. It reveals a moral type which has nothing Asiatic about it; whereas the political ideas of the Aryan Medes and Persians are as Asiatic in essence as can be. We must thoroughly realize what a mixed essence European character really is. It has spread easily enough to the races of the New World; there are many thousands of people scattered over the world, of negro and Indian descent, who are quite as European as the most fair-haired German, whereas the Hindoos and Parsees of the East, who are of the same family of nations as the German, have nothing European about them except what they have picked up of late years from the English. This is not the place to resolve the European type of character into its elements; let us only notice that it is not a matter of race, but of physical and moral habits, of climate, of laws, of manners and customs. It is almost as difficult to describe the European type outwardly as to resolve it into its elements. It is easier to say what it is not, and to reflect it by means of its contraries. It may be abstracted from the histories of Greece, and Rome, and England; but, whatever it is, it has varied but little in its transfer from the old Europe to the new. The people of the old and the new Europe are equally at home in either; and the superiority of the European over the non-European races has everywhere been maintained. The European peoples, though insignificant in numbers by the side of the countless millons of the non-European races, hold the keys of the earth, and only let in the non-European peoples as they please into its best parts. Exception must be made of the Japanese, who have adopted European methods and shown an efficiency and capacity at least equal to that of Europeans. Some people think that the Chinese, the most populous people in the world, will put an end to this European ascendency when they have learned from Europe how to use their strength; it is more likely that before that time the Europeans will outnumber the Chinese.

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[1] This refers to the expedition sent out by Nechos, King of Egypt, about 600 B. C. The evidence that it circumnavigated Africa is not conclusive. It probably went beyond the equator.

Down to the end of the fifteenth century, when this history begins, the commercial navigation of Europe was almost confined to the Mediterranean Sea. At the epoch in question, Europe as a whole had just emerged from a long struggle with a powerful Asiatic element. The Saracens had fallen upon Europe in a period of exhaustion; and but for a deep background of Teutonic strength perhaps the composite European character which had been so many centuries in forming would have been crushed out of history. In commerce and navigation there had been a distinct decay since the times of the Phœnicians. We know that in those times ships traded regularly, not only with the African coast far beyond the Pillars of Hercules, but with the British Islands. With the ascendency of Rome this commerce declined. A revival of navigation came with the migrations of those Teutonic nations which swept over the ruins of the empire. The barks of the men of the north now often rounded the western coasts of Europe on their way to the Mediterranean, where they found nearly the whole of the commercial navigation by this time in the hands of Arabs, or, as they were more often called, "Moors." But the navigation of this Teutonic people was not at all commercial in its character. They coasted about in light vessels, landing now and then for plunder wherever they thought it likely to be got. But they did not confine themselves to coasting. With what exact instinct we can only dimly guess, they set their sails northward and westward, and in this way discovered Iceland, Greenland, Newfoundland, and the continent of America itself nearly five hundred years before it was visited by Columbus. But this discovery, though it undoubtedly took place, has no historical significance; all the importance of the Teutonic sailors consists in the fact that through them the ports of western Europe came to be found out. The people of western Europe no doubt improved in the art of navigation by having to repel the attacks of the Northmen; and we know that about the period when this history commences the people of Portugal became expert in this art from repelling the attacks of the Moors. From the time of Charlemagne to that of Columbus the hardy peoples of Spain, France, and England gradually became at home on the seas which washed their shores. But there was little trade here. The great trade of the world, that of Europe with India, was carried on overland through western Asia or Egypt, and thence by sea to the ports of Italy, which remained its main inlets for continental Europe. In those times the European world knew nothing of the real shape or extent of the African continent. They believed it to be an oblong mass of land, terminating about the Equator: and it was natural for the people of western Europe, as soon as they understood the nature and extent of the traffic that was carried on between Europe and the East, to try to sail to the East for themselves. The Portuguese, as we shall see, after a century of exploration, succeeded in doing this; but the immortal Columbus had in the meantime made a greater discovery. By a bold course of reasoning, which we shall explain in its place, he had satisfied himself that the Portuguese were not going about in the shortest way, and, in following out his own plan, he stumbled first upon the West India Islands and then on the continent of America.

The change that followed was one of the greatest and certainly the most important in its results that has ever happened. The western nations were by this time ready for it; and the enterprise of Europe was now transferred from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. The day of Italy and Germany and western Asia was over; and the time of western Europe was come. Eastward to the old Indies, and westward to the new the ships of all these nations soon poured in an unceasing stream. There had never been such a ferment in Europe as at this time. There was a great revival in art and learning; the old religious tyranny was crumbling away over half the Catholic world; the western nations were just becoming conscious of their native strength and resources; and just at this moment two boundless fields were opened for them in the East and West. Within a few years adventurers of all sorts swarmed fearlessly over the Atlantic; and the fact of this great discovery sank deep into the mind of Europe. England, as we shall see, was not behindhand. In an old play, written soon after the discovery of America, Experience, one of the personages, speaking of the Atlantic, says: "This sea is called the Great Ocean. So great it is, that never man could tell it since the world began till near within these twenty years. Westward we found new lands that we never heard tell of before this, by writing nor other means. Yet many now have been there. And that country is so large of room, much larger than all Christendom, without fable or guile; for divers mariners have it tried, and sailed straight by the coast side, above five thousand miles. But what commodities be within no man can tell nor well imagine. And yet, not long ago, some men of this country went, by the King's noble consent, it for to search, and could not be brought thereto. O what a great meritorious deed it were, to have the people there instructed to live more virtuously, and to know of men the manner, and also to know God their maker, which as yet live all beastly." Peter Martyr says what a wonderful exultation of spirits he felt when he conversed with men who had been thither, and how he felt like a miser with new accessions to his wealth. The peoples of Europe soon began to contend for the inheritance of the New World. We shall see how the rich spoil was divided among them, how the greatest power got the lion's share, how its power and prosperity declined, how both of the Peninsular nations at length dropped out of the struggle, how for above a century England, France, and Holland contested the empire of the new Europe, while the balance of influence in the old Europe was alternating among them after the Peace of Westphalia. We shall see how England conquered in the great struggle for both America and India, and for the first time in history a European power began to overshadow the oldest and the newest civilizations in the world. At the same time the beginnings were made of a third and last period of history. Perhaps we ought not to describe this period as having yet begun, for the world remains at present in the Atlantic stage. The western parts of Europe, and the eastern shores of the Americas, are at present the main bases of progress and civilized life; but explorers soon struck into the great ocean beyond, and a hundred years ago the discoveries of Cook made it clear that one day these bases must be rivaled by the lands washed by the vast Pacific. We shall see what beginnings the Pacific world has already made.

Across the narrow isthmus of Central America the Spanish explorers quickly found their way. Along the Pacific shore lay the route to Peru and Chile, and westward from it that to the true India; for two centuries and more these seldom-traversed routes were all that Europe knew about the Pacific world. With the discoveries of Cook in the last century the face of things began to change, and by the middle of the present century the change was unmistakable. America and England had begun to colonize on the west and east Pacific. A vast tract of land which had been obtained by America from Mexico, together with British Columbia to its north, on the eastern shore, New South Wales and Victoria on its western, had become alike famous for their yield of gold. This proved the foundation of a more substantial prosperity. No parts of the world are richer in coal and metals than the Pacific shores. Through its metals, Chile, once the remotest part of the world, has become one of the most flourishing of the South American states; Japan has been transformed and even China has come to feel the wave of progress, and European enterprise has thus circumnavigated the globe. The countless islands of the Pacific now invited the colonists of Europe; England, France, and America, as we shall see, have all in various ways begun to colonize them. The new Europe in the Pacific does not yet belong to history; but it is necessary to take it into our general view as the final stage into which the Europe of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic is passing. There are already many railways connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific, and their connection will soon be completed by the interoceanic canal. We see thus that the Pacific is being brought nearer and nearer to Europe every day.

We shall find that the history of the new Europe is not completely cut off from that of the old. Across the Atlantic much the same things were done as would have been done if the new Europe had locally adjoined the old; and in this way the history of the Middle Ages runs on into that of America and India. For a whole century the history of the new Europe is rather mediæval or feudal than modern. The activity which burst forth on the newly discovered lands had already taken many and various shapes. The most noteworthy of these is the Crusade. For two hundred years and more the minds of people in Europe had been familiar with the idea of taking up arms and fighting against infidels in a distant country, and the Spaniards and Portuguese, as we shall see, acted exactly in this spirit in America and the East. The Crusades had gone further than this. The adventurers engaged in them had founded monarchies: a French scepter had glittered, though only for a short time, at Constantinople and Jerusalem. The conquests of the Portuguese in the East, more than any other part of this history, were a continuation of the Crusades. It was everywhere the Mohammedans, or "Moors," who were displaced by these conquests; and the people who did this were exactly the kind of people who had fought in the Crusades. It is curious to speculate on what would have happened if the world had gone no further at that time than to realize the limited ambition of the Portuguese, that of getting to India by the Cape of Good Hope. In this case the attention of Europe would have been directed more and more strongly to the East. The tide was as yet hardly beginning to turn against the Turks, but Europe would now have been able to attack them in the East more effectually than was done by Albuquerque, and perhaps in the course of time those intruders would thus have been forced northward and the object of the Crusades attained. If this be so, the settlement of the new Europe insured the Turks that hold upon eastern Europe and western Asia which they have not quitted to this day. But colonial history does not really depend upon that compound of military and religious enterprise which found vent in the Spanish conquests in America and the Portuguese conquests from the Moors in India. A greater power, called Commerce, had risen into notice at the same time. Venice had grown rich by her trade with the East, and had even acquired many possessions beyond sea on the Mediterranean coast which very nearly approached the character of modern colonial possessions. Genoa and Pisa had begun to rival Venice; the silk manufacture had been established at Lucca and Florence. Germany had followed close in the wake of Italy; nor were Flanders, England, and Northern France far behind. All the nations of

Europe had their warehouses at Bruges and Ghent; the Hanseatic league had become a great power; there were companies of merchants trading upon a joint stock in all the great commercial centers. The spirit of military enterprise was in most places being fast transmuted into that of commercial enterprise: and as we shall shortly see, commercial enterprise proved to be a more powerful and lasting force. Commerce produced ships, and ships led naturally to exploration and colonization. In all this Europe was getting farther and farther from what is mediæval and Asiatic, and becoming, so to speak, more and more decidedly European and modern. We shall see how the colonies in the end came to stimulate more and more the commercial spirit in Europe and almost to extinguish that compound of military and religious motives which mainly stimulated the mediæval nations.

A process of the same kind as that which we are about to describe took place in the ancient world. As the European peoples have founded a new Europe, so the Phœnician and the Greek peoples, who first perfected the practice of commerce and navigation, founded ages ago a new Phœnicia and a new Greece on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. Beyond this sea they did not in general venture; and this sea was to them what the ocean afterward became to the sailors of Portugal, Spain, Holland, and England. The colonies of the Phœnicians and Greeks consisted mainly of single towns. Phœnician colonization is divided into two periods—the Sidonian and the Tyrian. In the very earliest historical times we find the Sidonians making settlements in Cyprus, Greece, and the Cyclades; Cadmus, who is quite an historical personage, was a Sidonian colonist. The famous Phœnician colonies of Spain belong to the Tyrian era. Most of the settlements of the Phœnicians were merely trading ports or factories, but there were remarkable exceptions. To some of these settlements they transplanted a large mass of real emigrants who founded agricultural colonies, like New England and New South Wales. One of these was the famous Carthage, which, as everybody knows, grew so greatly in wealth and power as to rival the powerful Republic of Rome. To subdue Carthage cost Rome three exhausting and bloody wars; but it was through this conquest that Rome became mistress of the world. Carthage grew so fast in population as to become the mother of colonies of her own. Large numbers of Phœnician emigrants, for instance, left Carthage for Turdetania in Spain; and Strabo tells us that in his time most of the people in that part of Spain were of Phœnician blood. The Republic of Carthage restricted the trade of its colonies exactly as the European colonial nations did in after-times. There is extant a treaty between Rome and Carthage which prohibits the trading ships of Rome from entering the colonies and cities of Sardinia, or of Africa to the south and east of the original Carthaginian territory, so that if the Romans wanted any of the productions of these settlements they could not go and buy them in the first and cheapest market, but were obliged to go and buy them in the port of Carthage. Curiously enough, the Carthaginian portion of Sicily was excepted from this primitive "Act of Navigation," so we see that Carthage had in those early times a well-considered colonial policy. With Carthage, just as in the case of England, the great colonial trade was the foundation of a formidable navy, supported by a heavy taxation. Greek colonization was of a different character. The Greek colonies were always free from the first, so that the mother state had no right to tax them or to keep them in any kind of subjection. But the Greek politicians, who were often very unscrupulous, sometimes asserted a right over those cities which had proceeded from their own, and Athens extorted contributions from most of those in the Ægean Sea by commuting into a money-payment the service due from them for the defense of the Greek race, and thus made herself a great naval power. The Greek and Phœnician colonies, like their mother states, were absorbed in the Roman Empire, and every shore of the Mediterranean in the end came to yield obedience to one government. Colonization, in the old sense, became thenceforth impossible. The ancient colonization which thus came to an end is interesting in itself, and presents analogies with the modern which are well worth following up, but it concerns the antiquary rather than the historian. Whenever there have been disputes in modern times between the new Europe and the old, the ancient colonial policy has always been quoted. What the Phœnicians called their colonies we do not know. The Greeks called them Apoikiai, or "swarmings from the old hive." The word "colony" comes to us from Rome. The empire of Rome over the world was won by her great armies. The general, or "emperor" of these armies often provided for his veterans by granting them lands in the conquered countries, upon which they settled. These settlements, which afterward became military centers, were called "colonies," from the Latin word *colo,* to dwell in a place and till the soil. Relics of this original sense of the word may be traced in such names as *Köln* or *Cologne* (in Latin, Colonia Agrippinensis, Agrippina's Colony), and *Lincoln* (in Latin, Lindorum Colonia, Colony among the Celtic people of the Linds). Settlements exactly similar to these are made by the Russians in Central Asia. The word "colony" is even now commonly used among the Latin nations of South America in this sense of a new municipal community. But in English usage it means a colonial country, corresponding rather to the Dutch word *Volk-planting,* which is the earliest Teutonic expression of the idea. The earliest word in English use to express it is *Plantation.* Plantations, says Bacon, are among ancient, primitive, heroical works. This word, however, has become restricted to settlements founded by planters for the raising of such tropical products as sugar, tobacco, and coffee, and the word "colony," which formerly denoted only a military settlement, has taken its place. In modern usage the word "colony" is sometimes so restrained in its application as to imply the continuance of the relation of government between the new country and the old. Thus, while Australia is still described as a colony of Great Britain, the term would in this sense be no longer applied to the United States, though the latter country, no less than the former, is an offshoot of Great Britain. Besides this, English practice distinguishes between a colony and a possession or dependency. A colony is a possession with a legislature of its own. The historian, however, has to use the word in its extended sense. The European colonies include all the new Europe not politically independent.

Wherever European emigrants have gone, they have always found the land possessed by native races. In Mexico and Peru the Spaniards found organized nations with social systems of an Asiatic type. These, however, occupied no very large geographical space; most of Spanish and Portuguese America was peopled by savage Indians. In North America the French and English also found tribes of native Indians of various degrees of savagery. There is a great difference between the way in which the native races have on the whole been treated by the English on the one hand and the Latin nations on the other. Wherever the English have gone in America the native tribes have step by step been driven back and at last extinguished. It was not so in French

North America. Partly from humanity, partly from policy, the French treated the Indians as human creatures like themselves; they intermarried with them, and did their best to incorporate them into the Canadian nation. The same thing happened to a great extent in Spanish America. The early conquerors indeed cruelly overcame all attempts at resistance, and on one pretext or another destroyed very large numbers of them. This went on for at least half a century; but in the end vigorous efforts to protect them were made by the government at home, and by the aid of the Jesuit and other missionaries the Indian tribes were in some measure protected from the violence of the colonists and endowed with civil rights of their own. It is true that the laws made for the protection of the natives were not fully respected, and tales of cruelty to the Indians are common enough down to our own times, both in Spanish America and in Brazil. Still, all over Latin America we now see a sight that shames England. We see old races everywhere preserved, and during the last half century acquiring the civilization and civil rights of Europeans. In some other parts the extinction of the native races was less avoidable. The wretched savages of Australia and Tasmania, for instance, were of a far lower type than the American Indians; and the New Zealanders were a race so ferocious that for a long time no one thought of anything but exterminating them. Even since they have been protected by the government, they have been diminishing in numbers; and they form no exception to the rule that wherever the English have gone, the natives have disappeared. But in South Africa, with the immense population of the central continent at their back, the natives have occupied a different position. The European settlements have pushed on fast and occupied in a scattered way a vast extent of country, so that a large native population remains mixed up with the immigrants. Of all the non-European races, those of Africa have best withstood the advance of the European element. The Africans in America, as we shall see, do not perish out of the land like the natives. On the contrary, they increase and multiply; in the Southern States of North America alone there are eight millions of negroes and persons of negro descent, and their number is still increasing. In their dealings with the native races, the French have been more just and humane than other European nations; a long way behind them come the other Latin nations, and last of all the English and

Dutch. But in both of these nations people have risen up to point out the wrongs of the poor natives; and the name of an Englishman, the famous William Penn, will always be remembered as the only one of his nation who took effectual measures to protect the Indians in his colony. Pennsylvania was in some other respects the most enlightened colonial community that had yet been founded. Here alone in America religious liberty was established; here also the first anti-slavery society was established, nearly two hundred years ago. As we shall presently see, Penn's system had the happiest results. Pennsylvania became the most flourishing of the European colonies; none grew so fast, or became so famous, and its rise was due among other things to the lasting peace which was maintained between the colonists and the natives. But when the government of the state was taken out of the hands of the colonists, and martial law introduced, this happy condition of things ceased. The people of the United States have been as bad as any European race: their dealings with the Cherokees have proved them to be just as selfish and cruel as the English and Dutch. When we come to trace the history of negro-slavery, we shall see that there has been just as much difference between the Teutonic and the Latin nations in the treatment of the Africans, and in taking measures for abolishing slavery and the slave trade.

The new Europe, as we shall see, has not been entirely founded out of European resources. A great amount of hard manual labor is necessary in carrying on colonial business, and as much of the new Europe lies within or near the tropics, the colonists have been obliged to look about them, and get hold of people accustomed to labor in those climes. Within the temperate zones Europeans have been able to work hard themselves. They have, therefore, been able to dispense with the system of forced labor which has been practiced throughout the torrid zones, where they have fixed themselves for the purpose of raising tropical produce. At first they employed the natives, but they soon learned from the Portuguese the advantage of importing the vigorous negroes of Africa. The African negro is made for hard labor in a tropical climate, and for two centuries the European colonists stocked their colonies with African laborers. At length they became so numerous as to be dangerous. They often revolted in great numbers, killed their masters, burned the plantations, and formed themselves into rude independent communities, which it took years to reduce to subjection. The fear of this on the one hand, and on the other a gradual sense of the cruelty and injustice of the bond in which they were held, led gradually to the abolition of the slave trade, and ultimately of slavery. In this humane change England in the colonies and at home led the way. Tropical labor has now passed into a second phase. Different classes of hardy natives of the tropics have been invited to engage themselves to the planters for a fixed period, on a system which offers mutual advantages, and under this system, which has now been at work in some places for forty years, Canary Islanders, Coolies from the hills of India, Chinese, South Sea Islanders, and other natives of the tropics have flocked to the plantations. Even African negroes have done the same thing. China is the great reservoir of human labor; what the negro has been to the colonial world the Chinese will be in future. The Chinese are a hardy, industrious, and thrifty people; wherever they compete with European labor in its lower forms, they seem to be able to drive it out of the market, so that when they find their way into temperate climes a bitter animosity is always produced between them and the European laboring people, and attempts have been made to keep them out by law, notably in the United States. Many of the humbler occupations of life are far better filled by the Chinese than by Europeans; and whenever they are well treated they are a docile and law-abiding race. We thus see that the old Europe has exclusively contributed nothing to the new but its enterprise, prudence, and capital; these could not produce their due effect without the aid of the motive power of labor, which Europe cannot furnish in sufficient quantity, and for some very important branches of colonial enterprise, those pursued under the tropics, cannot furnish at all. Africa and Asia thus play a considerable though subordinate part in colonial history, the share of Asia in this part having mainly been taken since the abolition of the African slave trade.

Before men understood the art of navigation, changes in the settlement of the globe's surface were exclusively made by means of migrations. When people migrate they generally do so in a very large body; often a whole race has in this way changed its dwelling place. The exodus of the western Aryans, of which we have spoken, must have taken place by migration. A migrating people generally wanders on and on wherever the road is easiest, along the courses of great rivers or the shores of inland seas. We have in the Bible an account of the famous migration of the Israelites, the most valuable and interesting account of a migration that has been preserved. It is true that it is not a migration of the most primitive type, but it illustrates perfectly the difference between migrating and colonizing. A colony is always a settlement made beyond sea, by a few adventurous people, who leave the bulk of their nation behind them. The earliest and simplest kind of colony is a settlement called a factory or comptoir, which arises whenever a certain number of people of one nation settle in some distant place for purposes of trade. Such were most of the settlements of the Phœnicians, the early settlements of the European nations in Africa and the thickly-peopled East, and the forts of the forest traders of New France. Such settlements, however, are not colonies in the true sense. A true colony is formed when a number of people, of some more or less civilized race, sail away and make a permanent and independent settlement on some coast which is either uninhabited, or possessed by a rude and backward people, build habitations, cultivate the soil, and make for themselves a social and civil life. Virgil gives a famous description of the building of an ancient colonial city. Like most of the old Mediterranean colonies, Carthage at first consisted of only the site of a town, and he tells us how the colonists, who had sailed over the sea in a large body, bringing with them money and stores, were busy in building their town in imitation of those they had left behind in Phœnicia. Instead of the rude huts of the natives, they built great houses, gates, streets, and fortifications, all of large stones; each man divided his lot from the others by trenches; they dug out a harbor for large ships, and even built a theater and a temple. This description very much resembles modern colonization. Most of the colonies have kept accurate accounts of their early years, which were in almost every case years of hard struggles. A colonial expedition is, of course, a matter of great expense. Not only have sailors and ships to be hired and stores to be bought for the voyage, but provision has to be made for the subsistence of the emigrants until their crops are ripe. Sometimes these expenses have been mainly borne by private individuals or by companies with an eye to profit in the end; at others they have been undertaken by the governments who claimed the colonial soil. When a beginning has been once made, it is easy enough for an agricultural colony to extend its limits, and it often takes an entirely new character. The most extraordinary changes in colonial history belong to the history of the United States, which is out of the scope of this book; but we shall see how the flourishing group of the Australias has within the present century grown up out of a few settlements made for the reception of English transported convicts, how South Africa has grown out of a mere victualing-place made for the ships of the Dutch East India Company, how the foundation of the great Catholic state of Brazil was made by Jews exiled from Portugal for their religion, while that of the vast English Dominion of Canada was laid by a few French gentlemen and their peasant followers. Many of the most famous colonial expeditions, both in early colonial times and in our own generation, on record, have been complete failures, because plans for colonies have often been made without sufficient knowledge or prudence.

The same greed of gain and dominion which drove the western nations of Europe westward made them adopt every way of securing for themselves the whole benefit of their conquests. The Spanish monarchy was the first to exclude all other nations from the trade of its American possessions, and in other countries the system was adopted partly because it was necessary for the profit of the commercial companies to which the trade of the new settlements was at first committed, and partly from a belief that in this way the nation would make the most of what it had acquired. England was the last to adopt the system. Until the time of Cromwell the trade of English America had been quite free. The charters of the early English settlements permitted them to trade with foreign countries, and as early as 1620 the Virginian tobacco-farmers had warehouses in Middleburg and Flushing. But the Act of Navigation (1651) confined the trade of English America, like that of the colonies of other nations, to the mother country, and for more than a century the exclusive colony system prevailed everywhere. It was supposed that this greatly stimulated the prosperity of both the colonies and the home countries, but we now know this notion to have been quite false. Though the exclusive system was thus common to both families of settlements, there still continued to exist one great difference between the English and all other colonies. The English colonies always had, in other respects, freedom of government. They made their own laws and raised their own taxes, whereas the colonies of the Latin nations were always taxed and governed from home. This difference had been silently working for two hundred years and more before the independence of all the colonies brought out its consequences in all their fullness. One effect of the exclusive system is very noticeable at the present time: it kept back the mixture of peoples, and prevented the formation of a general colonial type until the English nation had completely got the upper hand in the colonial world. If it had been abolished two hundred years ago, the colonial world would have fallen at once into the hands of the Dutch; fifty years later than that, it might perhaps have fallen into those of the French. The decline and fall of the exclusive system is the main event in colonial history from a point of view of the economist, just as the independence of the colonies is the main event from the point of view of the politician and historian.

The extraordinary and endless variety which characterizes European life in the Old World has been faithfully reflected in the New. The following pages will be mainly filled with bare details which will lose their significance unless we bear in mind as much as possible the setting in which the events which make up colonial history have taken place. We must not forget how different is the aspect of nature in the New World. The physical aspect of almost every part of the new Europe is far grander and more interesting than that of the old. The mountains are loftier, the rivers longer and broader, vegetation richer, colors brighter, the sun hotter, the air clearer. Spaces are vaster and distances greater than in the Old World, and a great disproportion is at once felt to exist between the forces of nature and those of man. The New World in many ways leads the European back to conditions more natural than those which surround him in the Old. This is at any rate the case with the Teutonic races; Englishmen and Germans have generally found in colonial existence a sense resembling that of relief from a heavy and useless burden. In the air of the New World Teutonic life seems suddenly to purge itself of the useless accretions of two thousand years. Activity and enterprise increase as wealth is accumulated; a sense of worth and a pride of race are developed which contribute greatly to social cohesion and political independence. We shall see later on how the English colonial type has distanced all the others, because it is the only case in which the atmosphere of the New World wrought its natural results. In the case of the Latin colonists adverse circumstances for the most part prevented the growth of the true colonial character. Wherever the Spaniards went they found wealth already made for them: they had only to put out their hands and take it. The Spaniards rarely went beyond the limits of the civilization they supplanted, and never attempted, like the Teutonic colonists, to penetrate the wilderness. The Creole hidalgo, the great landowner of a Mexican or Peruvian town, lived a life even more stupid and monotonous than his countrymen of the same rank at home. He had no connection with the home country, and nothing to do with the government of that of his adoption; this was always kept in the hands of the native Spaniards, who came and went like birds of passage, as the English and Dutch still do in India. The West Indian planter and the American farmer had a constant commercial connection with England; in Spanish America there was no trade except what was carried on by a few Biscayan peddlers, who rambled up and down the country buying up what they could for the half-yearly fairs that were held at the ports. The idle hidalgo lived quite self-contained in the midst of his huge estate, his house surrounded by the huts of his Indian and half-breed serfs or peons. Some of these tended his great herds of wild oxen and horses; others dug in the hillsides for silver, or sullenly cultivated patches of maize or potatoes, while their wives spun coarse cotton and woolen stuffs, and plaited the prairie grass into broad hats to keep off the burning sun. Sometimes he rode in the cool time of the day, and even indulged in the delights of the chase; more often he was borne out in a palanquin by his negroes. Spanish colonial life was organized idleness; that of the English and Dutch had a real object. Farther east from the abode of the Mexican hidalgo, in the English colony of Virginia, as early as the time of Charles I., a very different life might have been seen. Here the eye, wandering about Jamestown and up and down the valley of the James River, would have rested everywhere upon large or small plantations, dotting the wilderness on every side. Traders' stores and warehouses lined the quay, to receive the tobacco and corn which poured into the capital; the port was crowded with ships from New England, from London, and Amsterdam. All was organized activity; the very Indians and negroes had caught the spirit. There would have been signs of a strong political life, though at this time most of the people would have been Royalists. Jamestown would have been a copy of Bristol or Southampton, just as the Mexican estancia was a copy of a Castilian country seat. If we bear in mind all through this history these two types of the Mexican hidalgo and the Virginian tobacco-planter we shall find it very much easier to understand. These are the leading types in colonial history, and the others group themselves naturally around and between them. The Canadian seigneur, with his faithful peasantry, settling down in the pine woods of Quebec, comes nearer the former type; so does the Portuguese nobleman, selling his paternal estate to some adventurer from the East, and buying of his sovereign a vast fief on the Brazilian coast, chiefly tropical forest, with perhaps a few sugar patches dotting the swamps below. The Teutonic colonial type is more varied. There may seem to be little in common between the sugar-maker of Barbados, the indigo-planter of Jamaica, the mahogany-lumberer of Honduras, the smuggler of Curaçao, the Boer of the Cape, the sheep-farming squatter of Australia, and the gold-seeker of British Columbia; but in all of these we shall find the same determined activity and independence, the same rough but effectual power of combination, and the same instinctive repulsion from the lower human types which surround them. The native weakness of the Latin type and the native strength of the Teutonic have had another remarkable result which became of great importance as soon as the epoch of political independence was reached. Priests and soldiers play a considerable part in European mediæval history. Now we shall find as we go on that the clerical and military elements have been transplanted to nearly all the Latin communities in the New World, where they have grown and flourished like baneful parasites, while in the Teutonic communities they were at first entirely wanting, and could only be created with difficulty when the need came. In Mexico, to add another touch to our contrast of types, there were bishops, priests, and monks all over the country, endowed not only with tithes, but with vast landed properties, and by far the most powerful people in the community. In Virginia clergymen were so scarce that a bounty was offered for their importation. Yet there is no reason to think that Teutonic colonists have, as a body, been less Christian-like and God-fearing than the Latin. On the contrary, wherever they go they have striven to carry their church with them, whereas the Latin colonists have of late years been in many places shaking off their church as an oppressive and intolerable burden. Few things in modern history are more remarkable than the way in which the Protestant Church of England has spread all over the English colonial world. It has not indeed done such great things in civilizing the native races as the Roman Catholic Church has done through its devoted religious orders; but, on the other hand, it has not furnished an element of disturbance and reaction, like the selfish secular clergy of Spanish America. The history of the church in North America, and in all the British colonies and possessions, is one of great interest and importance, though we shall be able to say but little about it. It must always be borne in mind that the Church of England has done much to raise the character of new colonial communities, especially in the case of the Australian convict settlements.

In one respect the nations of the new Europe beyond seas differed very greatly from those of the old. During the Middle Ages nearly all the European nations freely communicated and interchanged ideas with each other; and five hundred years ago no European would have found himself altogether a stranger in neighboring lands, wherever he might go. But about the time of the first growth of new Europe, this condition of things was passing away, and, except in the case of one or two commercial nations, the bonds of the old European life were becoming relaxed. This isolation was transferred by commercial policy to the new Europe; all the colonial nations of the Old World sought, as we have seen, to keep their colonies to themselves. The effect of this was to check even the communication between each mother country and its own colonies, and nothing is more surprising to a reader of the present day when he comes to the epoch of independence, a hundred years ago, than to see how utterly ignorant the people of the old Europe in general were of the social conditions and forces which prevailed in the new. It is impossible to suppose that either English statesmen or the Spanish would have adopted the policy which they did adopt toward America, if they had possessed any real knowledge of the subject. As much can be said for the French intervention in Mexico under Napoleon III. Of late years there has been a great change. Communication between the chief parts of the old and the new Europe is now rapid and frequent; the people of both are always going to and fro among each other, and their knowledge of each other is greatly increased. It is easier for an Englishman of the present day to go all round the world than a hundred years ago it was for him to go to Italy; and a journey from America to London is now a less formidable undertaking than one from Scotland to London was a hundred years ago. Nowadays travelers may go wherever they please; but it is not long since the famous man of science, Humboldt, was forbidden to enter Brazil upon pain of death, and less than forty years ago things were almost as bad in Paraguay. In the present state of constant communication between the new Europe and the old, it is difficult for us to realize the great isolation of the old colonies from each other and from the mother countries. This isolation wrought different effects in the two great colonial families. In the Latin colonies, it contributed to their degradation; for it left them more and more at the mercy of officials and ecclesiastics, and thus enhanced the effect of that combination of tyranny, bigotry, and monopoly, by which they were governed. In the English colonies this isolation was less complete; the colonies were already possessed of a stock of ideas which they never quitted, and these ideas flourished and spread, tending to keep alive the same ideas in the Old World; and in the case of Pennsylvania the most liberal principles of which the Old World was then capable were at once transferred to and put in force in the New.

The difference which we have just noticed has completely disappeared with the establishment of free communication between the new and the old Europe since the epoch of independence. The old barriers have been all broken down, and all over the New World European ideas grow faster, if they do not flourish better, than they have done in the old soil. In this the English American colonies led the way. In the New World it takes much less time to mature an idea and put it into execution than in the Old, and consequently America has grown more in a hundred years than Europe in a thousand. Both in the Latin and the Teutonic colonies there are of course facilities for carrying out reforms which do not exist in the old Europe. Habits of life are not so stereotyped; the scene is not overshadowed by a gigantic past which it is impossible to get rid of; there is everywhere a youthfulness, a singleness, and a force which is missed in the old Europe. The Old World is ever being repaired out of the forces of the New. Even in England some famous legal and political reforms have only been adopted since they have been tried in Australia; two famous laws of the greatest importance to the poor man, that which gives him a vote, and that which enables him to buy a piece of land without expense or formality, have come to England from the New World. In Australia public executions, which had so long been a scandal at home, were first abolished, and the example was at once followed in England; and there are very many other matters which prove how much quicker of growth all ideas of improvement, whether on a great or a small scale, are in the new Europe than in the old.

In the chapters which follow we shall mainly trace the fall of one form of colonization and the rise of another. This change, as we shall see, has several phases. We shall see that the chief Latin type, that of an idle landowning settler, emigrating only for the purpose of subsisting uselessly on the produce of the New World, fails altogether. The wisest policy in the world could not have made a colonial empire flourish wherever this type abounded. A community made up of people of this kind without energy and enterprise cannot but fall out of the race. The successful colonist must in some way or other contribute to the general stock of the world's riches; he must send home sugar, cotton, wool, hides, timber, or some other product of labor, making himself and the community to which he belongs to flourish by the return of something in exchange. We shall see that the Spanish and Portuguese in the New World are beginning to shake off their old character. Again, we shall trace the failure of schemes for putting the profits of the New World on a large scale into the hands of a few people sitting quietly at home in the Old. We shall see that shortly after the settlement of the New World many joint-stock companies began to be formed, by which it was expected that the capitalists of old Europe would engross the profits made in the new. This did very well, at least for a time, in the East; but it would not do where nearly everything depended on the laborer, and very little indeed on the capitalist. The filiation of clever ideas of this kind may be traced from the subtle merchants of Holland, through Law, the Franco-Scotchman, down to Wakefield and others in our own time. In enterprise, then, we shall see that the laborer in the colonies has, on the whole, prevailed over the capitalist at home. The great bulk of the riches gained through the New World has been gained by honest individual enterprise; and the failure of the system of commercial colony companies has been as complete as that of Latin colonization in its old mediæval form. Lastly, we shall see that all the colonies in the end adapt themselves to the model of those which are most a copy of the old country, and are least interfered with by the old country, namely the English. The rapid growth of the English colonial communities, while nearly all the rest of the world were standing still, proved that the English had hit upon the true form of colonization. Thus for three centuries the new Europe had been finding out: (1) that a colony was essentially a working place, not an idling place; (2) that its prosperity was an affair of busy individual thought and labor, not capable of being worked out like a machine by some distant force; (3) that it could not go on without having a certain liberty of action and freedom from meddling interference. The pursuit of these principles in the English colonies had greatly helped to raise England above all her continental rivals; and in the middle of the eighteenth century, just as the whole world was beginning to see how great her colonial empire was, and what unbounded prospects lay open to her through it, a great war-minister wielded her powers of offense so dexterously that she ruined France, her chief rival, both in the East and West, and thus won a fresh vantage-ground for the colonial type she had produced. We shall see how for a short time (1763-1775) it seemed as if the destinies of the whole new Europe (for Spain and Portugal could not long have resisted the united force of England and her colonies) would be linked forever with England alone. But this prospect, the most brilliant perhaps that ever dazzled any nation of the earth, was blasted by the folly of her statesmen, and the great colonial power fell asunder into two parts, one having its seat in the Old World, and the other in the New. Notwithstanding this, the work was done. The English type, though its effective power was impaired by division, eclipsed all others; and perhaps it will be found in the end to have done its work quite as efficaciously, though not so rapidly, as if its forces had continued united. A great blow in Europe next exposed the whole colonial world to the influence of this victorious English type. The power of the chief Latin nations in Europe was struck to the ground by one of themselves, and their colonies rose and threw off the yoke, which could never be reimposed.

The new Europe was at first organized on the Spanish model; in about three centuries this had been everywhere exchanged for the English. The final blow was dealt to the old system by the French Revolution, and the effect this shock produced in the New World was speedy and complete. We shall see toward the middle of this history how the French Revolution came to complete the work which had already been begun by American Independence; the chief thing to be noticed at present is how completely the ruin of the power of Spain and Portugal in America left the field open to English influence. In the previous century, the work that was done would have been done by the English arms; indeed, Pitt's invasion of Buenos Ayres in 1806 was a survival of a very old idea according to which English ships of war were to take all the Spanish naval positions, and make of Spanish America one vast English colony. But the work was done in another way. It was done more peacefully, more easily, and far more completely, by the spread of English ideas, through the medium, not of England herself, but of her sister power in the United States. During a hundred years, that vast power had been growing, both socially and politically, with astonishing steadiness and rapidity; and in different degrees it now began to drag with it all the rest of the colonial world. Spanish and Portuguese America, Canada, Australia, and even old Europe itself, have since been following in its wake. In South America the effect of the example of the United States was felt more immediately and profoundly than anywhere. There was no old antagonism to counteract it, as in Canada; no vast ocean standing as a barrier between, as in Europe. Released from European bondage, the South American nations one after another began to adopt the social and political model of the United States, not without many errors and failures. In the meantime English ideas had wrought an important change in the plantation colonies. The English in America had begun the agitation against the slave trade, and soon after the French Revolution strenuous efforts were made in England to get it abolished; these efforts succeeded, and the whole world in time followed the example. Lastly, England, deprived of her great colonies in North America, began the task of founding new ones. Other nations have tried to follow in the same path, with less success. Besides this, England began systematically extending and improving the lesser colonies which were left to her, and those which she won from her continental enemies in the wars of the French Revolution and Empire. There England adopted a fresh policy, abandoning the system of protecting certain trades, such as that in sugar, for the benefit of particular classes in the colonies, and gradually adopting a system of free commerce. In every respect we may say that the colonial world has been transformed by English influence, policy, or ideas. This transformation has gone far to destroy the isolation of the various parts of the New World from each other.

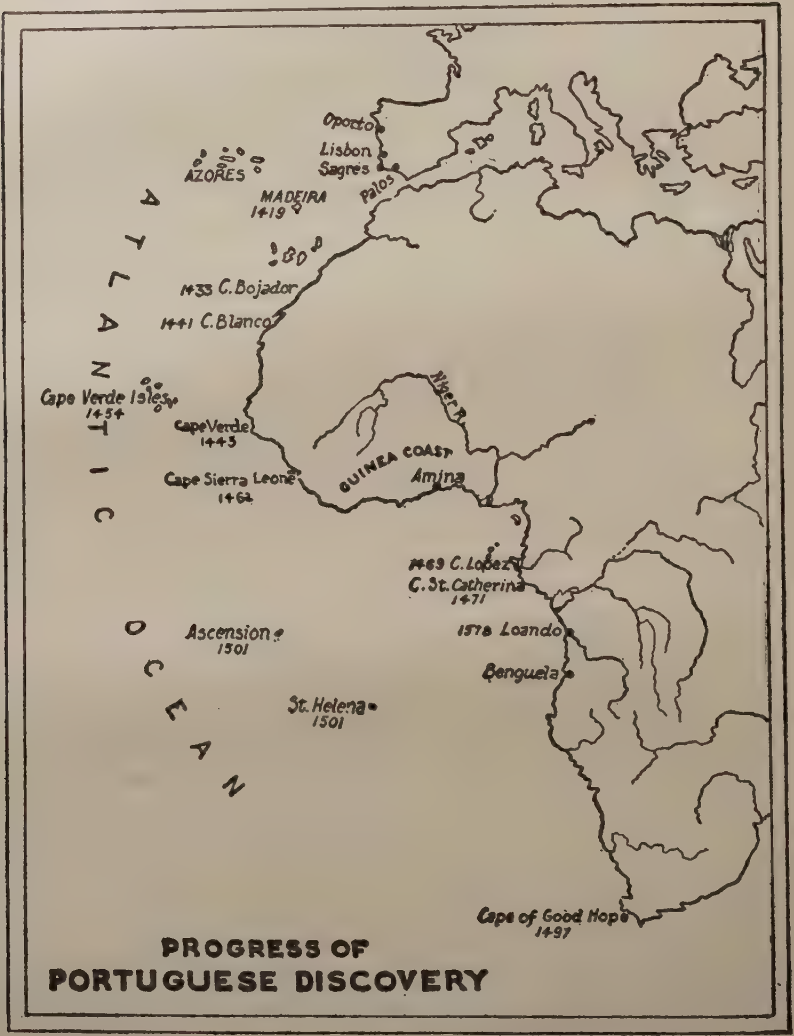
This history is divided into two eras, the first being the era of the creation and development of the old colonial system, followed by a period of transition, in which that system was destroyed by the revolt of the English, Spanish, and Portuguese colonies in America. The change from dependence to independence, as we might expect, did not take place suddenly. It took, in fact, about half a century to accomplish (1775-1825). The third era is one of new colonial expansion in the nineteenth century. Since the epoch of independence, the history of America, which includes the great bulk of the new Europe, has been the history of separate nations of Spanish, Portuguese, and English descent. The great colonial nation of all, the United States, has a history so important and complicated that it demands a separate volume. One of its greatest achievements has been the rapid expansion of its population and institutions over the entire breadth of the continent of North America, a colonizing movement the greatest and most successful in all history. Here we are concerned with the United States since 1776 only as a colonizer overseas, and with the Spanish and Portuguese nations of continental America only in the period of their colonial dependence and final revolt therefrom, for as we might expect, the history of these nations since the epoch of independence greatly exceeds their history before that epoch, both in interest and importance. After tracing the rise, growth, and fall of the old colonial system, we shall see how a great English community enveloped the French colony of Canada, how the Canadas became an independent nation in 1841, and have since been placed at the head of a confederation including all the older English possessions on the North American continent; how the loss of the United States led to the colonization of Australia, how several separate colonial communities have grown up there and are still growing, and how they were endowed with the privileges of independence as soon as it was possible to do so; how the movement spread to the neighboring islands of New Zealand; how the Australian colonies have united in a confederation, following the example of the United States and of Canada; how an English element enveloped the conquered Dutch colony of the Cape, and how the West Indies, ruined by Slavery Abolition and Free Trade, have quite lost their position in the colonial world of a century ago. We shall note the expansion of English dominion in Asia, in Africa, and in the islands of the Pacific, and the colonial enterprises of the other nations of Europe in these regions, although the full account of this development in India and Africa demands for each a separate treatment. We shall trace the career of the United States as a founder and ruler of colonies oversea. The first episode in this history is that of the enterprise of the Portuguese early in the fifteenth century. The Portuguese were the first to begin the work of colonization; we shall see toward the end of the book that their colonists have been the last on the American continent in completing the work of independence.

Chapter II

PORTUGUESE AND SPANISH COLONIES
1450-1580

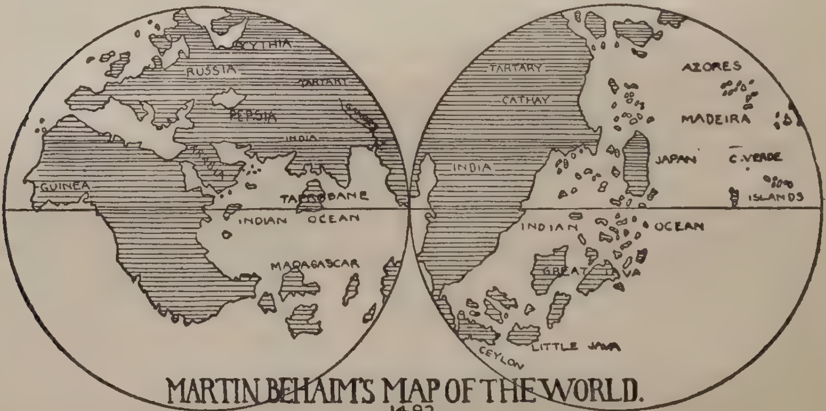
LESS than five hundred years ago few European vessels ventured westward beyond the Mediterranean Sea. The existence of America was unsuspected, and nothing certain was known of the remoter coast of the Old World. It was believed that the Atlantic Ocean was not navigable, and that the western coast of Africa was uninhabitable on account of the heat. The credit of destroying this idle belief is due to the smallest nation of Europe. Mohammedans of mixed race, known to the Christians of Europe by the general name of Moors, were at this time the leading people about the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, and others called by the same name engrossed most of the trade of the Indian Ocean. Morocco, as its name implies, was in the possession of the Moors, and they had conquered and settled the greater part of the Spanish Peninsula. But the Christian princes of the north of the Peninsula drove them by slow degrees from Europe, and some of the ocean coast of Spain thus came into the possession of a petty monarch, who took his name from Porto, his seat on the Douro. The King of Portugal was the head of a nation which, though small, was filled with the love of liberty and of enterprise. The Portuguese, elated and enriched by their conquests, pursued the Moors to their own shores. They gradually made themselves masters on the African coast, as they did afterward on a great scale in the East, of the same trade which had enriched the Moors, and finding themselves at home on the ocean they carried their exploration of the Atlantic coasts of Africa each year further and further. The old idle beliefs were quickly dissipated. Almost everywhere the coasts were found inhabited, and the climate tolerable. Islands were discovered off the African coast; its stormy capes were doubled one after another; its great rivers were partially explored; gold and slaves were brought from the coast of Guinea; and at last the Cape of Good Hope was doubled, and a way discovered by which the riches of the East could be brought directly to the western shores of Europe.

Prince Henry, Duke of Viseo, and son of John I., was the chief promoter of these adventurous voyages. He has been called the Navigator, though he took no part in them himself; but he had deeply studied the science of astronomy, and he labored hard to extend and apply it. It is to him, in fact, that the world owes both



Vasco and Columbus. Under his directions larger and stouter ships were built and equipped; an observatory was built at Sagres, on the coast, the astrolabe was perfected, and the compass, which had been discovered many years before, first became useful in steering. At the time of his death, in 1460, the ships of the King of Portugal had doubled Cape Bojador and Cape Verde; they had explored the coast as far as Sierra Leone; and Madeira, the Azores, and the Cape Verde Islands had been discovered, and partly settled. For Prince Henry was not a mere man of science. He at once saw in these newfound lands in the south a field for European enterprise. Under his directions the great forests of Madeira were set on fire, and the soil was made ready for the vines of Burgundy and the sugar-canes of Sicily. The island was divided, after the system of the times, into two great fiefs. A tenth of its produce was set apart for the king, another tenth for the clergy, and the rest, according to a primitive contract common in the Middle Ages, was divided equally between the landowner and the cultivator. We see that the ideas which the Portuguese carried with them were strictly those of mediæval Europe. So it was in regard to the trade for gold and slaves begun under this prince's auspices with Guinea. The traffic with Africa, like that of the Moors themselves, and like the traffic subsequently with India, was half piracy, half commerce. It was from the first a royal monopoly, and was carried on exclusively in the king's ships. But both ships and commerce were often farmed out to adventurers; and the Portuguese trade was thus saved from the officialism which strangled that of Spain. It was not until twenty-six years after the death of Prince Henry that the Portuguese sailors reached the great southern cape, which they called at first the Cape of Storms, but which was afterward known as the Cape of Good Hope. The progress of navigation was slow, but it was seconded by a wise policy at home. The kings of Portugal encouraged science and trade; Portugal became a commercial nation; Coimbra, the old capital city, was soon forsaken for the rising seaport of Lisbon; and John II. allowed all nations to come there and buy the produce of the African trade.

Castile, which had come lately into possession of the ports of Seville and Cadiz, was not likely to remain inactive in the midst of her neighbor's successes. Though the Castilians were inferior navigators, the science and practical skill of Italians were always at their command, and their vessels closely followed those of Portugal, and disputed whenever they could the right to their discoveries. Castilian ships, perhaps, were the first to touch at the Canaries, though the priority was questioned, and, in 1479, the rival claims of the two nations were settled by treaty: Portugal kept Guinea and most of the islands, and the Castilians were content with the Canaries. They carried thither the Rhenish grape, which had been already tried and approved at Cadiz, and the Canary wine soon became famous. When the crowns of Castile and Aragon were united under Ferdinand and Isabella, and the conquest of the Moors had been completed by the conquest of Granada, Spain at once took rank as a formidable European power. Ferdinand was a politic prince, and his jealousy was moved by the continual advances of the Portuguese. These latter were now on the point of reaching the Indian Ocean. Every year saw their ships better built and equipped, and their captains more adventurous, and the counselors of Ferdinand and Isabella resolved to try a chance of cutting short the rivalry. Columbus, a clever and learned Genoese, who had been long in the Portuguese service, had convinced himself that this long, perilous, and as yet uncertain circumnavigation of Africa might be avoided, and the voyage to India quickly accomplished, by sailing due west, and thus coming upon the shores of the East from the other side.



MARTIN BEHAIM'S MAP OF THE WORLD.
1492

If we look at a map of the world of his times, we shall see, indeed, two hemispheres, but only one continent, divided equally between the two. The Indies occupied a vast space in the eyes of mankind; and the great question was, how to get at them. The recent voyages of the Portuguese had greatly changed the map of the world. It had been always supposed that Africa ended at the equator; but these voyages had shown that this was a mistake, and that the way to India was much longer and more dangerous than had been expected. Hence the bold idea of Columbus. Common sense, we should now say, would have suggested what he did. But maps were in those day among the mysteries of the learned; and it is hard at all times to lift human progress out of the beaten track. The way by the coast was thought to be sure, though slow, and all experienced men looked upon Columbus as a visionary. But Columbus pondered on his map, and resolved to execute the idea which filled his mind. He visited several European courts to beg their sovereigns to equip a sufficient expedition. The sovereigns of France and England would have nothing to do with him; and it was not without long hesitation that Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain closed with his offer. They furnished him with three ships, and on August 3, 1492, the first expedition of Europeans sailed westward from the little port of Palos in Andalucia, knowing nothing of their destination save the vague names of India and Cathay. Three generations of Europeans had been toiling their way to the Cape of Good Hope; Columbus aimed at outstripping them by a single bold venture. He knew that he was nowhere likely to suffer worse dangers than on the African coast, and that he was sure to reach India sooner or later if he could sail westward without mishap or obstacle. On October 1 his daring and perseverance were rewarded by reaching land. It was only one of the Bahama Islands, but he pushed his inquiries further, and visited the Island of Hayti, which he named Española, or Little Spain.[1] Its fertility, if not its wealth, confirmed him in the supposition that he had reached one of the finest islands of the wealthy Indies. Here he procured gold, and planted a colony; and before he returned to Spain he had visited the Windward group, and gained a general idea of the West India Islands. But he as yet never suspected that a vast continent lay between him and the Indies of which he was in search. He returned to the port of Seville; and was received with great joy by the court at Barcelona. The Pope confirmed the Spanish monarchs in their new possessions; and Columbus was sent on a second voyage with seventeen vessels and 1500 men. This time he arrived at the island of Dominica. He completed the conquest of Hayti, and built a fort to command the mines of Cibao; but he returned to Spain without having added very much to the discoveries of his first voyage. On his third voyage he determined to try to reach the real India by standing to the south. In this way he came upon Trinidad and the mouth of the Orinoco; and this vast river convinced him that he had at length reached the mainland. He proceeded thence once more to Española; but by this time the intrigues of the enemies whom his successes had raised up had done their work. A commissioner was sent out to inquire into the charges aginst him, and he sent the great Columbus back to Spain in irons. He was never restored to the government of his colony, but he was allowed to make another voyage to seek the way to the real India, in which he of course failed. Meanwhile, the mines of Española were being worked by the forced labor of the natives, and the Spaniards were confirmed in their notion that the destiny of the New World was merely to furnish plenty of the precious metals to Europe.

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[1] The meaning of Española is "Spanish," *i. e.* the Spanish Island.

While the Portuguese sailors were pushing their way league by league round the coast, sagacious eyes watched their progress at home, and when the Cape of Good Hope was reached it was time to prepare for the great day when they would reach the shores of India. John II. dispatched thither two adventurous young men, named Covilhao and Paiva, in order that the Portuguese captains might know what to look for when they got there. We can scarcely realize the hazard and romance that attached to this journey less than four centuries ago. The land to be traversed was in the hands of fanatical Mohammedans. Few Jews, and fewer Christians, had ever returned from seeing the Eastern Ocean, and the monarchs who reigned on its shores were the heroes of strange legends, which came to European ears only through the Moors of Egypt and Tunis. The two pioneers took ship for Alexandria, and sailed up the Nile to Cairo, where they joined a caravan for Aden. Here they parted, Paiva to explore westward, Covilhao eastward. The fate of Paiva was never known; he probably perished in an attempt to penetrate the interior of Africa. Covilhao sailed for India. He visited Cochin, Cananor, Calicut, and Goa, returned to Aden, and sent dispatches thence which reached Lisbon in time to serve as a guide to the great navigator who first brought a European vessel to an Indian port. He then went to Abyssinia, and visited the court of the Negus, a Christian potentate formerly well known to the Western world by the name of Prester John, whence he never returned; but long before he died he must have learned that his countrymen had not only reached India, but won there a great dominion, and possessed themselves of the most flourishing commerce in the world. Vasco da Gama sailed July 18, 1497, soon after receiving the report of Covilhao. He doubled the Cape of Good Hope, fulfilling at last the presage of its name, and after enduring many dangers in those unknown seas, arrived at length at Calicut, after a voyage of thirteen months. This feat was incomparably more difficult and hazardous than that of Columbus, who reached the West Indies in about two months: and Columbus with his mutinous crew and slight resources would probably have turned back before he had accomplished a tenth part of the voyage.

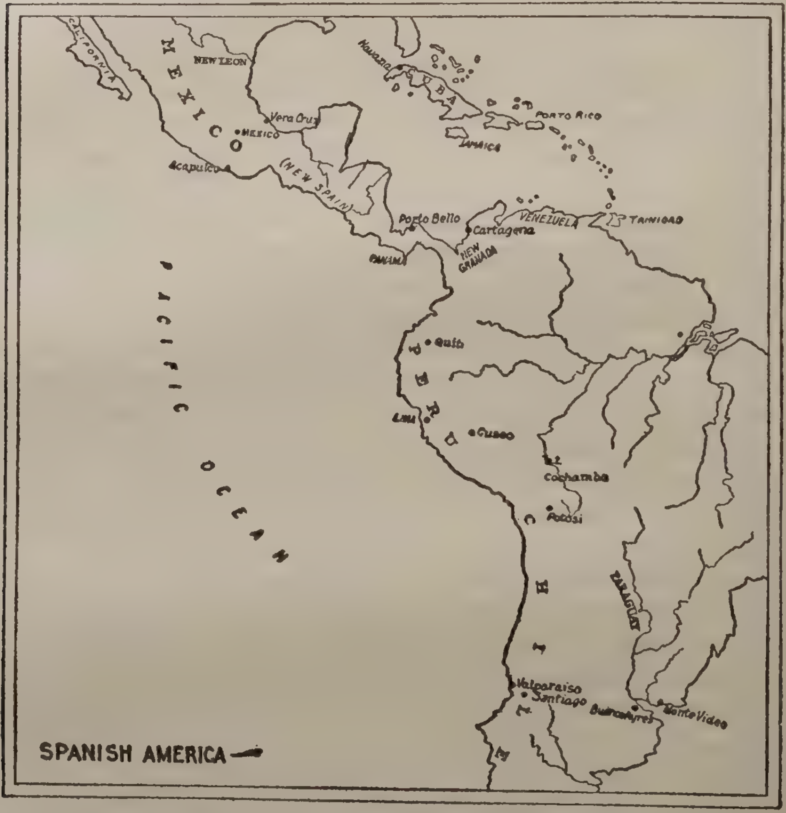
Nor did the discoveries of Columbus produce to Spain results at all to be compared with those which Portugal attained through that of Vasco. The West Indies had been reached by the Spaniards, but their inhabitants were savages, and nothing was as yet known of the two great aboriginal nations of Mexico and Peru. But the Portuguese had touched the rich civilization of the great East, with which Europe and Western Asia had traded from time immemorial. The joy and expectation which Vasco's return excited at Lisbon were unlimited. New expeditions were sent out, and now commenced that military subjection of the East to the West, established not for territorial dominion, but for the purpose of trade, which continues undiminished in our own times. Clad in armor, armed with firelocks, and already well practiced in the arts of conquest by a hundred years' experience of Africa, the Portuguese settled without much resistance wherever they pleased on the Indian coasts. At this time, and for long afterward, we must remember that, excepting Europe, whenever we speak of a country, we speak principally of its seaboard. The peninsula of India, so lately as a century ago, was scarcely known except by the names of the Malabar or Western Coast, and the Coromandel, or Eastern. The petty sovereigns of these coasts, oppressed by their lords in the interior, allied themselves with the newcomers, and acknowledged themselves vassals of Emmanuel the Great. The maritime Mohammedans of the East, whom the newcomers also called Moors, were neither so rich, nor so united as those of the

West, and the newcomers knew how to deal with them. Many entered the Portuguese service as pilots and sailors, and those who opposed them could make no effectual resistance. The Portuguese were soon lords of the chief ports of India. In the king's name they bought the merchandise of India, and shipped it to Lisbon, whither the barks of other nations now found their way, and where the stuffs, spices, and precious stones and woods of India were sold much cheaper than they could be sold in Venice, after they had borne the cost of land-carriage and trans-shipment, and the arbitrary customs duties of Egypt and Asia Minor. This splendid commercial conquest was of course in its very nature but a temporary thing. A small nation like Portugal could scarcely expect to keep so vast an acquisition. But it is clear that the Portuguese might have kept it longer, if they had had a succession of able and honest officers on the spot, and a sound and fixed policy at home.

We have said that the colonization of the Spaniards and Portuguese belongs to the Middle Ages. The Portuguese in their new pursuits followed closely a famous European model. The Republic of Venice, whose trade they were supplanting, had pursued commerce as its chief object, and the attention of the Portuguese was turned in the same direction. Colonization, in our modern sense, was not thought of. The coast of South Africa did not stay them on their course, and the shores of Asia were already well peopled. Even had they been empty and under a more temperate sky, the mailed vassals of Emmanuel would have been little disposed to settle and drive the plow there, as Englishmen have done in America and Australia. Nor were there rich mines, as in Spanish America, which only awaited the enforced toil of natives or African negroes to yield an inexhaustible supply of treasure. What offered was an existing trade, and it was the richest trade in the world. The Portuguese took the trade and were content. The nation which had taken three generations to toil round the coast of Africa was not a people of new ideas. They knew of but one commercial system to be followed as a model, but that was the greatest and the most successful in Europe, and it was in the zenith of its glory. Venice carried on much of its vast trade through its foreign possessions or colonies—through Cyprus, Crete, Eubœa, and the Morea, and the numerous settlements which fringed the Ægean Sea. The colonial system of Venice was near upon five hundred years old, and it had been successful, though the hard government of the Republic is proved by the many revolts against it. Each of its colonies had its governor or vice-doge, who was not allowed to hold his office more than two years. He was assisted by a council of noble Venetians, and by some other officials; but the people of the place were allowed no share in the government. The same system was applied by the Portuguese to India, and a viceroy was appointed, for a term of three years, to exercise the authority of the crown over its new vassals, and to direct and extend the trade which was carried on in its name with Lisbon. The first viceroy, Almeida, a nobleman of Emmanuel's court, was sent out in 1505. He was an able administrator; but it is to the talents of his successor, Albuquerque, that the establishment of the Portuguese dominion is chiefly due. Under Almeida the Portuguese settled in Ceylon, but it was not until 1518 that they were strong enough there to obtain the monopoly of its fine cinnamon, the finest spice which the earth produces.

The harbor of Calicut, the commercial capital of the Malabar coast, was scarcely accessible to the great vessels of the Portuguese; and the first thoughts of the new viceroy were given to the selection of a new port, to be a center for the commerce of the Indies. A happy chance made him master of Goa, a strong military position, and one of the best harbors in the world. For nearly a century the commerce of the East with Europe went forth from this port to Lisbon. A great loss fell upon the Italian republics, and upon Egypt and Turkey. Alexandria, with Aleppo and Trebizond in the East, Venice, with Augsburg and Nuremberg in the West, were almost forsaken. Lisbon received the treasures of the East, and dispensed them to Europe through the port of Antwerp, which became so thronged with goods and merchants that it was necessary in 1516 to pull down its walls and enlarge it. It was not likely that either Venice or Egypt would tamely submit to this grand revolution in commerce. The Sultan of Egypt, who levied a custom of five per cent. upon all merchandise that entered his dominions, and of ten per cent. more upon all that quitted them, soon felt a falling off in his revenues. He represented to Venice the necessity of disputing the Indian Sea with the newcomers. The Red Sea has no wood for shipbuilding, but the Venetians brought wood to Cairo, which was carried by camels to Suez, and Suez in 1508 had ready a small fleet to resist the newcomers. The wise Portuguese had foreseen this, and had already taken measures to secure the mastery of the Red Sea. But the Egyptian vessels made their way into the Indian Ocean, and, joined with those of the Moors of India, gave the Portuguese so much trouble that Albuquerque thought of putting an end to the matter by destroying the port of Suez. His vessels, however, retreated, unable to encounter the difficult navigation of the Red Sea, and Albuquerque bethought him of another plan, which was nothing less than that the African vassals and allies of Portugal should turn the Nile into the Red Sea, so as to lay Egypt desert. The conquest of Egypt by the Turks under Selim I. in 1516 removed all danger for the present on the side of Egypt, and in the meantime Albuquerque greatly strengthened the Portuguese position by making himself master of the Persian Gulf. Ormuz, a town occupied by a mixed race of Mohammedan traders, and tributary to Persia, was the mart for the trade of Persia and India. Albuquerque reduced it, and when the Shah of Persia sent to demand tribute of him, he sent him cannon-balls and grenades. Flushed with his successes, he now turned his attention to the Eastern Seas, and cast longing eyes on the great port of Malacca. Outrages committed upon his spies by the Malays, already forewarned of the coming danger through the Moors, afforded him a ready pretext. Malacca was taken by storm in 1511, and the kings of Siam and Pegu at once submitted and offered him their commerce. Nor did Albuquerque rest until he had established the Portuguese empire in the utmost limits of the Old World, and a power which half a century before had been scarcely heard of in Europe had become supreme on all the coasts of Africa and Asia. The most profitable of all the Eastern trades was that in the spices of the Moluccas, especially in nutmegs and mace, the taste for which had rapidly spread in the Middle Ages from India and Persia throughout Europe. Following everywhere the footsteps of the Arab traders, the Portuguese, under the viceroy's directions, established themselves at Ternat and Tidore. These unexampled successes earned him the jealousy of Emmanuel, and he died at Goa, poor and in disgrace, 1515. Albuquerque was not merely a great conqueror. He was a just and humane governor; and long after his death the poor Hindoos offered prayers at his tomb against the injustice of his successors.

While the Portuguese, enkindled with the hope of gain and the old hatred of Mohammedanism, were everywhere thrusting the Arabs from the commerce of the East, the Spaniards were but beginning to discover the extent and character of their new possessions. As soon as the nature of their explorations was known, the Pope, assuming to exercise the same feudal authority which he claimed in Europe, limited his grant to Portugal to the meridian of 100 degrees west of the Azores, all west of this line being conceded to Spain (1493). But in 1494 the two powers revised the boundary by the treaty of Tordesillas, fixing the demarcation line at 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. As Cabral, a Portuguese, on the Indian voyage, was making his way round Africa, he stood out to sea more than usual to avoid the calms which were encountered on the coast, and he thus fell on the shore of Brazil, of which he took possession, in 1500, claiming it under the treaty. Portugal claimed the new-found coast, for though a Spaniard named Pinzon had previously touched there, it clearly had no connection with the Spanish Indies. Thus America was as it were a second time discovered, and this time by an accident. A treaty was made, by which the possessions of Portugal were limited to the coast south of the Amazon River, and the Spaniards confined themselves to their old possessions, which they now began to explore more narrowly. Española was already taken, and between the years 1508 and 1510 they occupied the other Great Antilles, Cuba, Porto Rico, and Jamaica. In the meantime the continent northward of the bay was gradually explored, and intelligence gained of the Mexicans, a nation which had made some advances in wealth and civilization. The prosperity of Mexico was chiefly due to the cultivation of maize or Indian corn; but the eyes of the Spaniards saw nothing in it but a display of gold and silver. They cared nothing for peaceful commerce, and they at once set about making a complete conquest. The population was collected in towns and villages, and easily overpowered by one or two desperate efforts. With the aid of the neighboring nation of the Tlascalans, Ferdinand Cortez made himself master of Mexico, 1519-1521. Much has been written of the cruelty and perfidy with which this conquest was carried out; but cruelty and perfidy were then very common in Europe, and the conquests of Cortez certainly relieved the Mexicans from an antiquated and oppressive government, and from a cruel and senseless religion. The conquest of Mexico was followed by many settlements on the coast, where there were convenient harbors, and in this way were founded the towns of Cumana, Porto Bello, Carthagena, Vera Cruz, and many others. In the meantime Vasco Nuñez de Balboa had made a great discovery. He sailed round Cuba, conquered it, and left it, finding it poor in gold and silver. He then followed the track of Columbus to Darien. He crossed the Isthmus and discovered the ocean beyond, which from its contrast with the stormy Atlantic was called the Pacific.[1] Cruising about on its coasts, ever inquiring for gold and silver, the Spaniards learned that far south there was a land where they might have as much of either as they pleased. This land was Peru, like Mexico, a state



SPANISH AMERICA

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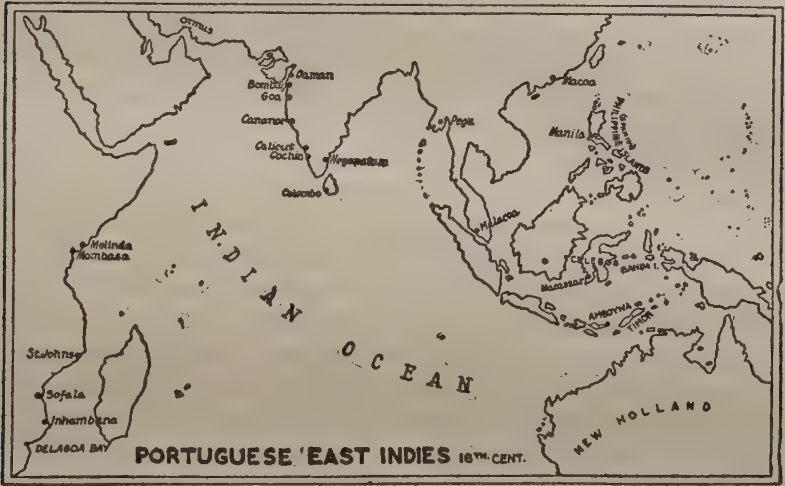
[2] This Pacific Ocean was first so called by Magellan, who entered it through the straits bearing his name in 1520. The Spaniards, approaching it over the isthmus, called it the South Sea.

which had grown from utter barbarism into such a kind of half-civilization as might be expected. The prosperity of Peru, such as it was, seems to have been founded on some rude discoveries in engineering, particularly in the art of irrigation. A ruling caste, called the Incas, who taught the worship of the sun, held the people in subjection; and the Peruvians had a national religion and history, and the sense of these never forsook them during their long subjection to the Spaniards. Peru was never so completely reduced to subjection as Mexico. Balboa reached this distant land and took possession of it in the Spanish name; but the conquest of Peru was first undertaken by Francis Pizarro in 1525. In ten years it was accomplished, though in a manner far more disgraceful to humanity than that of Mexico. There is a bright side to the character of Cortez, but that of Pizarro is utterly detestable. He was, however, an able governor. He built the new capital of Lima instead of Cuzco, the ancient seat of the Incas, and here he was at last assassinated by his own creatures. These proceedings were scarcely heard of in Europe, and no attempts were for a long time made to control the rapacity of the conquerors. The colonial history of Spain does not properly begin until some years later, when the great Emperor Charles V. in 1542 introduced what were called the New Laws. At this time the whole country was regarded in theory as a feudal possession of the King of Spain, and a council was established for its administration (1511). This council, which sat at Madrid, was called the Royal Council of the Indies; but no real control at home was established until the appointment of viceroys, as Portugal had already done in the East. Perhaps the most important element in the settlement of Spanish America was the early introduction of the Roman Catholic religion. Churches and convents were built in large numbers, and the rite of baptism was forced upon the natives, partly as a token of submission. And the Bulls which Ferdinand procured from two successive Popes gave him full power over the church in his new possessions. By that of 1501, the Pope relinquished all control over its revenues; and by that of 1508 all claims upon its patronage. No Bull was allowed to go to America unless it had been passed by the Council of the Indies; and the church thus became a great instrument of government. The priests, moreover, made great efforts to shield the natives from cruelty and oppression, and it was chiefly owing to the humane Las Casas, Bishop of Chiapa in Mexico, that stringent laws were made for their protection. No government has ever made so many laws for the protection of the natives in its colonies as the Spanish; but it lacked the power to execute them. Las Casas, moreover, introduced one cruel system in the hope of putting an end to another. He suggested the employment of African negroes in the mines instead of the native Americans, and though the Spanish never engaged in the African slave trade themselves, they now began to buy slaves of the Portuguese.

Wherever a petty prince reigned on the African coast, the Portuguese landed to trade with him. One of the earliest of the Portuguese factories was placed at Sofala, which was believed to be the Ophir of the Bible, the port of the rich land of Mozambique, and this they have kept ever since. The coast of Zanzibar, with its ports, made famous by Milton,

"Mombaza, and Quiloa, and Melind,"

was at once secured by them; and their superior vessels enabled them to compete successfully with the Moors in every branch of the local trade. But they never even heard of the vast Victoria Nyanza which lay in the lofty mountains over their heads, or of the rich tablelands lying in mild air around it; they did not even see the capacity of South Africa for receiving European colonies; they scarcely anywhere ventured to explore inland, and their energy was spent on the extension of their commerce further and further eastward. Albuquerque was the greatest of the Portuguese viceroys. None of his successors equaled him in wisdom and in courage, but they executed his project of establishing commerce with China. Though the high-handed proceedings of the Portuguese at first caused distrust, and for several years they were excluded from the Chinese ports, they were at length readmitted, and the Emperor of China, finding them useful in putting down piracy gave them Macao, at the mouth of the Canton River, which proved advantageous for the commerce which they afterward carried on with Japan. In the meantime the wealthiest of all the trades, that of the Moluccas, was strengthened and extended. But this great commercial empire contained the seeds of its own decay. The Portuguese made the most of the coasting trade, which they carried on for their own advantage, to the neglect of the great trade with Europe; they intermarried with the Asiatics, and gradually corrupted their race, and their grasping policy kept alive the jealousy and distrust of the native princes. But while the heart of their domination was being weakened, it extended to all appearance more wonderfully than ever. The Viceroy John de Castro defeated the Mohammedan King of Cambay, who possessed himself for a time of Diu, and his successes were celebrated by a grand triumph in the manner of the ancients. The Portuguese flocked to the East in such numbers that the little kingdom at home was half depopulated. The trade of China led naturally to the acquisition of that of Japan (1542). Thus the whole trade of the new-found coasts of the Old World was in their hands, and they were in possession of the largest and finest of the settlements in the New. For Brazil, on which the Portuguese ships had been cast by accident, had been found to unite in itself the capabilities of every part of the world in which Europeans have settled, though happily gold and silver had not yet been discovered, and the colonists betook themselves from the first to agriculture. The first permanent settlements on this coast were made by Jews, exiled by the persecution of the Inquisition, and the government supplemented these by sending out criminals of all kinds. But gradually the consequence of Brazil became recognized, and as afterward happened in New England, the nobility at home asked to share the land among themselves. Emmanuel would


PORTUGUESE 'EAST INDIES 16TH CENT.

not countenance such a claim, but this great prince died in 1521, and his successor, John III., extended to Brazil the same system which had been adopted in Madeira and the Azores. The whole seacoast of Brazil was parceled out by feudal grants. It was divided into captaincies, each fifty leagues in length, with no limits in the interior; and these were granted out as male fiefs, with absolute power over the natives, such as at that time existed over the serfs who tilled the soil in Europe. But the native Brazilians were neither so easy a conquest as the Peruvians, nor so easily induced to labor; and the Portuguese now began to bring negroes from the Guinea coast. This traffic in human flesh had long been vigorously pursued in various parts of Europe; the Portuguese now introduced it to America. The settlers of Brazil were, properly speaking, the first European colonists. For they sold their possessions at home, and brought their households with them to the new country. Thus they gradually formed the heart of a new nation, whereas the chief Spaniards always returned home after a certain tenure of their offices, and those who remained in the colony descended to the rank of the conquered natives. Many of those who came to Brazil had already served in the expeditions to the East; and they naturally perceived that the coast of America might raise the productions of India. Hence Brazil early became a plantation colony, and its prosperity is very much due to the culture of the sugar cane. The Portuguese were greatly assisted, both in the East and the West, by the efforts of the newly-founded order of the Jesuits. The Portuguese of the East had almost forgotten justice and mercy, and the arrival of the devoted Xavier in Goa in 1542 produced a moral revolution. Enmities were quenched, and frauds repaired, after his wonderful street-preaching, and when he died in 1552, on the eve of preaching Christianity in China, he was said to have drawn a million of infidels into the fold of the Church. From his mission to Japan (1549) the Portuguese date the real establishment of the lucrative commerce of which they had obtained the monopoly; and, satisfied with the success of his missionaries, John III. in the same year sent out six of the order with the first governor of Brazil. The Jesuits were of great use both to the Spaniards and Portuguese, in inducing the Indians to submit to their rule.

The English were the first people who followed the Spaniards to the New World. John Cabot sailed from England in command of two of Henry VII.'s ships, in 1496, and discovered the islands of St. John and Newfoundland, and all the coast from Labrador to Virginia. The French followed in 1506: and a voyage to the New World was made, in 1523, by Verazzano, another Italian, in the service of the King of France. On the strength of these voyages the English and French claimed a share in the New World. The Spaniards, however, took care to occupy every part which was thought to produce gold, and nothing else was considered worth the expense and hazard of a settlement. The French afterward made war with Spain, which was the beginning of the piratic warfare they long maintained in the American seas; and their own civil wars, which followed, fully occupied their attention. Nevertheless, Cartier in 1534 sailed up the St. Lawrence, and gave the fertile plain which is now the province of Quebec the name of New France; and some Protestant emigrants, sent out by Coligny to the tolerant colony of Brazil, which did not as yet exclude strangers, gave that country the name of Antarctic France. The St. Lawrence district was permanently settled by the French in 1608, chiefly because of the fisheries and rich fur trade carried on with the North American Indians, but partly because it was supposed that this great river would sooner or later form part of a highway to India; but Coligny's plans in Brazil were ruined by the treachery of his agents. English merchants, moreover, began early to venture into the Northern seas, and in 1536 Newfoundland and Cape Breton Island were settled, and the great cod fishery, which has ever since been a mine of wealth, was begun. About the same time English traders first ventured to the Guinea coast. But the growth of that mighty system of trade, which has since transformed the face of the world, was slow; and it met with little encouragement at home. Henry VIII. was full of his mock tournaments and his despotic policy, and though the English were waxing rich they lacked such a field for employing their riches as was found out by the Portuguese. Meanwhile, the Turks found the revenues of their new possession of Egypt almost destroyed by this diversion of the India trade. The Turks were at this time a first-rate naval power, for in 1521, to the great alarm of the whole western world, the fleet of Solyman the Magnificent had proved a match for the united fleets of the Venetian Republic, the Emperor, and the Pope. The profits of the King of Portugal from the spice trade alone were estimated in 1529 at the sum of 200,000 ducats; and it is not wonderful that Solyman resolved to strike one more blow for the riches and empire of the world. He dispatched an armada of eighty ships in 1537 from Suez to attack Diu. One of the guns cast by Solyman for this expedition lies in the Tower Yard in London. It is still one of the longest and heaviest pieces in the place: so that we can form some idea of his artillery and of the ships which carried it. But the Portuguese totally defeated him: and the Turks have never renewed the attempt. Upon the possession of India, it has been thought that they might possibly at this time have founded universal empire, and played the part of the Romans in Europe after the conquest of Carthage. However this may be, such an event would certainly have retarded the advance of Europe by many years; and had there not been a Vasco to show Europe the way to India, and an Albuquerque to establish her power on a firm foundation, the opportunity would perhaps have been lost forever.

The conquest of the seacoast of Terra Firma, as Columbus had called the north of the South American continent, was effected together with that of Peru; Chile was occupied in 1541; and in 1550 a permanent settlement was made there by the foundation of the town of Concepcion. The Plata River was discovered, but not yet successfully settled; and by far the most important parts of the Spanish possessions were the two conquered nations. The settlements in Terra Firma, Chile, and the district of the Plata River, were maintained at a great expense, rather to keep other nations out than because they were of any value in themselves. They were inhabited by unsettled tribes of Indians; and the humane laws of Charles V. protected them, as far as laws could avail, from the cruelty which had been exercised in the earlier conquests. He declared the Indians to be free men; fixed the services and tributes which they were to yield, and allowed them to live in their own villages and to choose their own caciques, as in the old times. Mexico and Peru were of more value, and their importance was doubled by the discovery of the rich mines of Zacotecas, and especially of Potosi. An Indian, who was pursuing a wild goat up the side of a mountain, seized a shrub to save himself from a fall; the shrub gave way under his hand, and he observed that a mass of silver adhered to its roots. On this barren site speedily sprang up the largest town in all America. The mines of Veragua and New Granada were found to yield a small supply of gold. Shortly afterward a mine of native quicksilver was discovered; and as this metal was then necessary for the refinement of gold and silver ore, the production of the precious metals was greatly stimulated. The discovery of them was left to private enterprise, a certain proportion, at first one-fifth, but gradually reduced to one-twentieth, being reserved to the crown. Wherever the precious metals are found, there comes, even at this day, when mining has been proved to be the most ruinous of all speculations, a rush of all nations; and the rush in those days would have been far greater had not the government commenced a severe system of commercial restriction. The government had been already remodeled by the New Laws of Charles V.; Spanish America was divided into two provinces and committed to two viceroys, one having his seat at Mexico, and one at Lima. Each was attended by an independent bench of magistrates, called an audiencia, from which there was an appeal to the Council of the Indies at Madrid; this device was copied from the colonial system of Venice. The number of the audiencias was afterward increased to ten, and that of the viceroys to four.

An ambitious nation, possessed of the only existing ports on the Pacific shore, was not likely to stop short until it had got a footing in the real Indies. Even as early as 1519 the Spaniards had taken into their service the able and intrepid Portuguese Magellan, who discovered the straits at the south of the new continent, called after his name, and on his way to India discovered the Philippine Islands, where he perished in 1521. And here the claims of Spain and Portugal, under the Pope's Bull of 1493 and the Treaty of Tordesillas came into conflict, for their boundary was fixed only on one side of the globe. At length the Portuguese paid 350,000 ducats in respect of any claims which Spain might have upon the Moluccas, but Spain maintained her hold upon the Philippines, a post which seriously injured the trade of Portugal with eastern Asia, and under a different policy might have quite superseded it. But the statesmen of Spain, bent on consolidating their conquests, pursued the system of commercial restriction and confined the trade of the Philippines to Mexico. The port of Acapulco was founded, and in 1565 the route to the Philippines, by way of the Ladrones, was explored; Manila was built, and a regular trade established. The great galleon took five months to make the voyage between the Philippines and America. It arrived at Acapulco in December, bearing drugs, spices, China and Japan wares, cotton and silk stuffs, gold dust and precious stones from India. At the same time the great yearly treasure ship came in from Peru, accompanied by several others from Peru and Chile, and the great fair of Acapulco lasted for thirty days. But though the vast ships which plied to and fro were freighted with the most precious products of the two worlds, hardly any benefit was derived to either under a system so absurd. The Chinese, who were chiefly interested in the trade, secured most of the profit; and while the Portuguese, and still more, in after years, the Dutch, drew untold profits from the spices of the Moluccas, the Philippines would probably have been abandoned had it not been for the fact that the Church had taken a firm hold there.

Far greater than that of New Spain and the East Indies was the trade of New Spain and Europe, the whole of which passed through Vera Cruz, the seaport of Mexico. Hither came regularly the annual fleet from Cadiz, consisting of several large vessels, with three or four men-of-war as a convoy, loaded with all the exports of Europe. It may be said that every nation in Europe, except the mother-country, was largely interested in the Mexican trade. For the manufactures of Spain, once so great and flourishing, had come to an end with her influx of riches, and all that she contributed to this vast trade was a little wine and fruit. As to everything else, she was merely the factor of other nations, so that the only advantage that came to Spain from her colonial possessions was the profit of a few merchants and the customs duties. They did not, as in England and France, nourish agriculture and home manufactures, spread wealth and plenty through all ranks of society, and offer a field for capital and labor. Mexico and Peru remained distinct nations; the Indians, and all who were born in America, were treated as foreigners; so that the Spanish colonies remained in a state of subjection to the mother-country which wanted but little to turn it into one of hostility. The Spanish Government was jealous and cruel; those who administered it always returned to Spain, and their chief object was to make money for themselves during the term of their office. The kings of Spain were resolved that the treasure of Mexico should find its way to them and to them alone. But if the exports of a country are to be limited in their direction, the same limitation must be extended to the imports. As no American silver was to go to any other country than Old Spain, it followed that New Spain must supply all its foreign wants from Old Spain, and the consequence of course was a great increase in the price paid for the commodities of Europe. The free traders of other nations could supply New Spain much more cheaply, and there naturally grew up a great smuggling trade with the English, Dutch, and French. Cloth, for instance, purchased in Flanders could not be sold in Mexico under three times its original price. The Spaniards approved of this, because it brought more silver into Spain; but the real advantage was reaped by the Dutch, who soon carried on a large smuggling trade. This limitation of trade to the vessels of the mother country seemed so profitable that it was speedily copied by the Portuguese, and in after times, in a modified form, by the English. But both of these nations began by leaving the trade of their colonies quite free. The trade of Peru with the Old World was carried on by way of Panama and Portobello, as well as by way of Acapulco. Peru supplied scarcely anything but the precious metals, and these did not greatly contribute to its permanent prosperity. New mines were frequently opened, and the population generally shifted about with the mines. At first the southern part of Peru produced abundance of wine and oil, but the Spaniards, believing that this injured their own trade, rooted up both vines and olives.

We have thus traced in their order three distinct sets of events, which about complete the first century of colonial history: 1, the acquisition of the India trade by the Portuguese, and the settlement of the same people in Brazil; 2, the Spanish conquest of America; 3, the attempts of other nations to establish themselves where the Spaniards were not strong enough to keep them out. We have seen the trade of Europe with the East diverted from its ancient channels, and the foreshadowing of the greatest event in the whole course of history, the transfer of the center of commerce and power from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic shores of Europe. The wave of coming change already touches the shores of England and France, destined at no distant day to a great struggle for the commerce of the world; a vast current of specie has been brought from the New World and rapidly diffused into the remote shores of Asia, stimulating the trade of all countries but the one which imported it; at least one new nation has been founded, of unlimited capacity for extension; colonization and colonial policy have taken a distinct form, though the wants and resources of the new countries are as yet not fully estimated; and the social and political forms of the old country have been transplanted to the new with scarcely any modification. The next step in progress is due to a people too obscure to have been hitherto mentioned. In the following chapter we shall see feudalism everywhere yielding to the inroads of a commercial nation, and the way prepared for changes greater still.

Chapter III

THE DUTCH AND ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS

1580-1702

THE commerce of Portugal was almost entirely ruined, and the great colony of Brazil almost lost, by the results of one of those trifling incidents which sometimes change the whole course of human affairs. Sebastian, the son of John III., fell in an expedition against the Moors in 1578. Philip II. of Spain declared the succession at an end, and in 1580 reëntered on Portugal as a fief of Spain. For sixty years Portugal, with its colonies and possessions, remained a dependency of Spain; and as the aggressive and intolerant policy of Philip had made him an enemy throughout western Europe, the Portuguese dominions were suddenly exposed to plunder and ruin. Philip preyed upon Portugal, and his enemies fell upon her ships and colonies. Philip engaged in a war against the liberty and religion of the Netherland provinces, which, from enjoying a high degree of wealth and liberty under the House of Burgundy, had unhappily fallen under his tyranny. Seven of these provinces succeeded, after a long and bloody struggle, in throwing off the yoke. The United Netherlands, as they were called, gave promise of becoming the most flourishing community in Europe; but Philip, following the maxims of the time, forbade all commerce with the revolted states. Now the Dutch, as the United Netherlanders, by the appropriation of a name of much wider meaning, came to be called, had for nearly a century enjoyed a great share of the most profitable trade in Europe. They carried the produce of the East from Lisbon to their own country, which labor and skill, working upon the disadvantages of nature, had converted into one vast port; and hence they distributed it over all Europe. The merchants of Antwerp, ruined in Philip's wars, migrated to Holland; and the Dutch found themselves enriched by all their misfortunes. It was easy to foresee the consequences of Philip's revenge. Unable to maintain their commerce without the produce of the East, the Dutch were forced into the East to seek it for themselves. The weakness of Spain on the sea had been proved by the fate of the Invincible Armada; and the Dutch surmised that the Portuguese, cut off from Europe, would make a feeble resistance. In September, 1595, news arrived at Goa that four Dutch ships bound for the Sunda Islands had touched at an Indian port. The history of this expedition is curious. Cornelius Houtman, a Dutch captain in the Portuguese service, had been taken prisoner by the Moors. The Portuguese Government refused to ransom him, and he thereupon applied to some merchants of Amsterdam, saying that if they would pay his ransom he would show them the way to the East. These four ships were freighted with the goods of Houtman's friends, and the venture was so successful that it was repeated. There was soon a permanent Dutch settlement on the rich island of Java. Shortly afterward another was made on that of Sumatra, and the Dutch quickly made the best part of the Eastern trade their own. The arrogance and greed of the Portuguese had made them enemies everywhere; their colonial government was full of corruption in itself, and weakened by its isolation, as well as by its threefold division, and the discipline of their soldiers was gone. The Dutch, on the other hand, were a young nation, flushed with success at home, and eager for solid acquisitions abroad. They had acquired great comparative wealth from small beginnings. The same system of association which still subsists in their home fisheries had been the foundation of their enterprise. Companies for mercantile adventure were common in other lands, but the Dutch exceeded all other people in the success with which they managed them, and many such were already formed for absorbing the traffic of the East at its source. The States-General, in 1602, consolidated these companies, and the famous East India Company was formed. It was the turning-point in the commerce of Europe, for it was the first great joint-stock company whose shares were bought and sold from hand to hand. It prospered exceedingly, for it soon paid a dividend of sixty per cent.; in after times it aided the state at important conjunctures, and supported the failing manufactures of Haarlem and Leyden. Throughout the East the Dutch, spurred by the necessity of supplying their trade, and by the hope of confirming their political independence, sought to drive the Portuguese from their positions, and the Asiatics were not slow to help them. Philip, as had been surmised, cared nothing for the trade of the Portuguese, and he enlisted them at home to serve in his own wars in Italy and Flanders. And the implacable hostility of Philip stimulated the progress of Dutch navigation, and drove the Dutch more and more into the Eastern trade. He seized the Dutch ships, and flung their crews into the dungeons of the Inquisition. Hence their ships became daily faster and better manned, and their adventure took a wider scope.

The Dutch soon established a connection, though subject to great restrictions, both with China and Japan, but their main object was to engross the trade of the Moluccas. These they completely conquered in 1607. The inhabitants allied themselves with the newcomers against the Spaniards and Portuguese, and the Dutch established themselves wherever they pleased. One by one the forts of the Portuguese fell into their hands, and they took measures to get the largest possible profit out of their new possession. And now we see for the first time the policy of a mercantile company having a monopoly. Unable to occupy all the soil of the islands, they fixed themselves where the best soil for spices was thought to be found, and destroyed the spice-trees elsewhere as far as they could, so as to keep their rivals from Europe out of the field. When they had taken a certain quantity of spices, they burned the rest, in order, as they supposed, to keep up the price. They cultivated the clove in the Island of Amboyna, and the nutmeg in the Banda Islands, and through the old Portuguese settlements of Timor and Celebes they opened a trade with the Chinese. The growth, however, of the Dutch colonies in the East was slow, because they did not at once strike a blow wherever they found trade going on, as the Portuguese did, but looked narrowly for actual commercial returns. It was not finally secured until the peace of 1609, in which Spain acknowledged their independence. A commercial center was now wanting, such as the Portuguese had in Goa, and in 1618 they seized the capital of the rich island of Java, upon the ruins of which they founded the town of Batavia as the future capital of the Dutch Indies. The site of Batavia resembled Holland, and the city may still be called an Oriental Amsterdam. Batavia became the seat of the government, which was administered by a governor general, holding office for five years, and assisted by a Council of the Indies, nominated by the company at home. The success of the Dutch Company was due in a great measure to its democratic constitution. Its profits were shared by the merchants of all the principal Dutch towns, who took care to secure for its produce a sale at the best prices. Much of its success must also be ascribed to its abstinence from all conquests which were not commercially profitable, to its tolerance of Asiatic customs, and freedom from religious fervor which marked the Portuguese. Its decline in after times is due to the competition of the French and English, who brought to the task more enterprise and sagacity, and were less governed by merely mercantile principles.

The English were not slow to follow in the steps of the Dutch. The defeat of the Armada showed them their power at sea, and they made great prizes out of the vessels in the Eastern trade. In 1592 the Portuguese Indiaman, *Mother of God,* of 1600 tons burden, and a cargo worth 150,000*l.,* was towed into Dartmouth. She was the largest vessel ever seen in England. The papers of these prizes were carefully scrutinized: and the English now competed with the Dutch in beginning an Eastern trade of their own. They had always been considerable traders, though England formerly produced but little to trade in, save raw materials. The produce of England, however, steadily increased after the Wars of the Roses; the woolen manufacture sprang into being, and the English learned from the Italian merchants, who had long been settled in London, to improve their vessels and to carry their own commodities to the ports of Europe. In the olden times England had been supplied with Indian produce by an annual ship from Venice. They traded to Turkey for it as early as the time of Henry VIII., and Frobisher tried to discover a northwest passage to India. Sir Francis Drake was the first Englishman to sail to the Indian Archipelago (1577-1580), and the success of his voyage turned the attention of the English strongly to the East. The Western continent, however, was not neglected. Possession was taken, in the name of the whole, of part of the coast of North America; companies were formed on the Dutch model, for planting them with English settlers, and, encouraged by the weakness of Spain on the ocean, Sir Walter Raleigh made an attempt to seize on what he believed to be the rich empire of Guiana. But Raleigh's two expeditions to Guiana ended in failure. He left two persons with a friendly tribe of Indians in 1595 to serve as interpreters upon his return, but made no permanent settlement. The Russian Company had long carried on a trade with Persia, and the Turkish Company had ventured to send their cloths by way of Bagdad to Ormuz and Goa. Even before the rout of the Invincible Armada confirmed to England the freedom of the sea, Englishmen had visited the courts of Cambay and China in the name of Queen Elizabeth. When

Spain was shown to be too weak to drive them off, the merchants of London were not slow to compete with those of Amsterdam for the commerce which was slipping from the grasp of the Portuguese, and on the last day of the sixteenth century the first East India Company received its charter. The English adventurers were well received in the Indian Archipelago by all except their European rivals. The Portuguese or Dutch were in possession of the most advantageous positions, and the English were prepared and disposed for nothing but a peaceful interposition. But the growing renown and riches of England, and the perseverance of the English Company, excited the apprehensions of the Dutch. Open violence succeeded to rivalry, but in 1619 a temporary treaty was concluded, by which it was hoped that the avarice of the Dutch and the aspirations of the English might be equally satisfied. The Molucca and Banda Islands were to belong equally to the two companies, and the produce was to be divided between them in the proportion of one-third for the English, and two-thirds for the Dutch. A handful of English, therefore, settled in Amboyna; but the presence of these rivals became insupportable to the Dutch planters. They suborned some Japanese who were in their service to accuse the English of a conspiracy to seize the fort. Several of these unfortunate adventurers were imprisoned and killed, and the rest were driven from the island in 1623. The English gave up the spice trade, though they kept up their intercourse with the Asiatic continent; and the "massacre of Amboyna," as it was called, long served to keep up a strong animosity between the two nations.

The rich and rising colony of Brazil had already attracted the cupidity of the French, and the sugar plantations had flourished greatly since the importation of negro labor from the Portuguese settlements in Africa. The Dutch, made bold by their great successes in the East, now sought to win the trade of Brazil by force of arms, and the success of the East India Company encouraged the adventurers who subscribed the funds for that of the West Indies, incorporated in 1621. The Dutch admiral Jacob Willekens successfully assaulted San Salvador in 1624, and though the capital was afterward retaken by the intrepid Archbishop Texeira, one-half of the coast of Brazil submitted to the Dutch. Here, as in the East, the profit of the company was the whole aim of the Dutch, and the spirit in which they executed their design was a main cause of its failure. The company, for instance, kept the trade in provisions in its own hands; and, in consequence, no native of Pernambuco was allowed to kill a sheep either for sale or for his own consumption; he was obliged to sell it to the Dutch butchers, and buy the meat of them at a price fixed by the company. This was not the way to win the Brazilians, but it increased the profits of the company, which rose at one time to cent. per cent. The visions of the speculators of Amsterdam became greater, and they resolved to become masters of all Brazil. This accomplished, Peru and Mexico might perhaps in time have submitted to them, and the Dutch republic would have given laws to the New World. The man whom they dispatched to execute this design was Prince John Maurice of Nassau. He belonged to a family which has been famous for its statesmen, and it is likely that he might really have accomplished this design, ambitious as it was, for in a short time he had greatly extended the Dutch possessions. But, the *stad-houder* was subject, not to the wise and learned men who sat in the States-General, but to the merchants who composed the courts of the company. They thought of nothing but their dividends; they considered that Maurice kept up more troops and built more fortresses than were necessary for a mercantile community, and that he lived in too princely a fashion for one in their service. Perhaps they suspected him of an intention of slipping into that royal dignity which the feudal frame of Brazilian society seemed to offer him. At any rate, in 1643, they forced him to resign. A recent revolution had terminated the subjection of Portugal to Spain, and the new King of Portugal concluded a truce for ten years with Holland. War was therefore supposed to be out of the question, and the company had some pretext for withdrawing the expenses of Maurice's government. The troops were reduced, there was no *stad-houder's* court, no new fortifications; the trade of the colony flourished as well, and the profits of the company were greater than ever. But the recall of Maurice was the signal for an independent revolt in Brazil. Though the mother countries were at peace, war broke out between the Dutch and the Portuguese of Brazil, in 1645. The Jesuits had long preached a crusade against the heretic Dutch. The House of Braganza was once more on the throne at Lisbon, and, in spite of the truce with Holland, the Brazilians were determined to regain their independence, like the mother-country. Since the conclusion of the truce, the Dutch had possessed themselves of several Portuguese settlements in Africa and Asia, which they refused to surrender, and the King of Portugal was not disposed to check the impulse to independence in Brazil. John Ferdinand de Vieyra, a wealthy merchant of Pernambuco, led a general uprising of the Brazilians, and although the Dutch made a stubborn resistance, they received no assistance from home; they were driven from one post after another, until in 1654, the last of the company's servants quitted Brazil. The Dutch declared war against Portugal; but in 1661 peace was made, and the Dutch sold their claims for 8,000,000 florins, the right of trading being secured to them. But after the expulsion of the Dutch, the trade of Brazil came more and more into the hands of the English. It was carried on in the same way as the trade of Old and New Spain, by armed fleets dispatched to each of the principal ports, Pernambuco, San Salvador, and Rio Janeiro, and the produce of Brazil was shipped back to Lisbon; but the woolen goods, metals, and provisions of England formed the bulk of the exports, and the Lisbon merchants chiefly traded upon credit from the English merchants whose goods they exported. Hence Portugal was rightly looked upon in Europe as only a factor or agent of England.

The steady progress of the Dutch in the East answers exactly to the advance of Holland among the countries of Europe; and this is perhaps the most important political fact of the century. Resting always on the solid basis of the spice trade, the East India Company planted its settlements on all the shores between Europe and Batavia. They drove the Portuguese from their factory at Malacca in 1640; they allied themselves with the native princes of Ceylon, and drove the Portuguese from Colombo in 1658, and they vastly extended their hold on India. Since 1615 they had acquired settlements at Paliokata and other places on the Coromandel coast, but Negapatam became their chief mart from 1658. On the Malabar coast, the ancient marts of Calicut, Cochin, and Cananor were taken from the Portuguese in succession. By this its was hoped that the whole of the pepper trade would fall into their hands; but it was not easy to exclude the rest of Europe from the commerce of a coast now so easily reached. Accustomed to the enormous profits of their spice monopoly, the Dutch cared but little for their Malabar settlements. They could not, however, afford to abandon the trade of India to the English and French, who were rapidly taking it up, and their factories were spread all over the coasts as far as Bengal. But the most important in the end among all the Dutch settlements was made upon a spot which during a century and a half had invited the attention of Europe in vain. Their commerce with the East now greatly exceeded that which had been carried on by the Portuguese; it was threatened by other European rivals, and it was pointed out in 1650, by Van Riebeck, a ship's surgeon, that the foundation of an agricultural colony at the Cape of Good Hope, where the Portuguese and Dutch vessels had often halted, would be at once a strategical support to the commerce of India, and a convenient halting-place for the Dutch ships. He was entrusted with the formation of a colony. The company allowed about one square league of land to each emigrant, keeping the freehold for themselves; they furnished them with farming stock, and their cattle quickly multiplied. The Cape Colony soon produced provisions, corn, and wine in abundance; natives of other countries were encouraged to settle, as had long been the case in the mother-country; but all remained subject to the exclusive system to which they owed their beginnings. No communication was allowed with the ships of any other country, nor were the colonists permitted to sail for themselves to the bordering shores in search of the fuel which the rocks of the Cape scarcely supplied. They obtained labor by kidnaping the natives, and by bringing negroes from Guinea and Malays from Java. The Colony formed part of the administration of the Indies at Batavia, which was divided into six governments, Java, Amboyna, Ternat, Ceylon, Macassar, and the Cape.

The London East India Company continued to prosper and to extend its operations. Its annual ventures brought returns of from one to two hundred per cent. It loaded its large vessels chiefly with bullion, which was collected in foreign parts, for the export of English coin was forbidden; the rest of the cargo consisted of English raw and manufactured produce. Many foolish objections were seriously raised against it, namely, that by exporting the treasure which would otherwise have poured into the kingdom, it impoverished the state, that it caused the destruction of timber by the building of great ships, and that it engrossed the skilled mariners of the realm. About the year when the company obtained their great factory of Madras (1640) their concerns were so large that their dockyard at Deptford was unequal to them; they therefore bought some ground in a marsh called

Blackwall, on the other side of the river, and made a new dockyard there. The company built their own ships, and made their own masts, yards, sails, and cordage; they did everything necessary for victualing and appointing them, down to making their own casks, and baking their own bread, and grinding their own gunpowder; so that they enjoyed profits which have since been divided among several trades. They now, however, had so much business that besides the great ships of 1000 tons and upward which they built, they were obliged to hire others upon freight. They grew so rich that William III., following the Dutch method, laid a duty of five per cent. upon their stock. In 1698 a second company, called the "English" Company, was chartered; but this produced so great a commotion that the two were consolidated in 1702 by the name of the United Company of Merchants Trading to the East Indies. The English Company brought into the concern five times the amount of the original stock of the London Company. The London Company had already begun to feel the effect of the more liberal constitution of the Dutch Company, and some such enlargement of its basis was necessary to enable it to go on competing with the latter.

The rivalry of the Dutch and English was not yet confined to the East. We have seen how John Cabot discovered Newfoundland within a few years of the discovery of the new continent, and how the great fishery of Newfoundland was established. The English made continual voyages to these coasts, and gave out at home that there was gold to be had for the seeking; but the few attempts which were made proved failures. The Dutch, on the other hand, confined themselves chiefly to the East. It was thought that an English colony in North America might serve as a naval outpost against Spain, as a stimulus to the trade of England, and in the end as a source of the much-coveted gold; and this was finally effected in 1607, by means of two joint-stock companies formed on the Dutch model. Through the London and Plymouth Companies there began a great influx of colonists to avoid the religious persecutions of Charles I. The history of this great series of colonies is the preliminary history of the United States. England did not remain peaceably in possession of all the northern part of the continent. The French took possession of the St. Lawrence in 1603, and founded the town of Quebec, and in 1602 Hudson, the English navigator, when in the service of the Dutch, had explored the banks of the river which now bears his name. The country really formed part of the great English territory which was called Virginia; but James I., who cared nothing for colonies, made only a show of opposition to the claims of the Netherlands, and it was instantly granted out by the Dutch Government to the West India Company. The company built the fort of Orange, about 150 miles up the river, as a market for the fur trade, and the traffic with the Indians on the river was the richest in all North America. But the New Netherlands as it was called was destined to be something more than an emporium for the trade of the Five Nations; and the corporation of Amsterdam bought up the rights of the company, and settled the town of New Amsterdam on Manhattan Island, at the mouth of the Hudson, the best harbor on the whole coast. The Dutch settlement became so flourishing that Charles II. resolved to conquer it, which he did in 1664. The country was granted to his brother, the Duke of York and Albany, afterward James II., and the names of York and Albany were substituted for those of New Amsterdam and New Orange. In the subsequent war (1672-1674) between England and Holland the Dutch retook New York; but it was restored to England by the Peace of Nymwegen, and the Dutch had to content themselves with a part of British Guiana, which was ceded to them in exchange. In the meantime the English colonies to which New York was necessary as a commercial center had grown up one by one, until the whole coast from the Floridas northward was occupied by settlers, as the Brazil coast had been occupied by the Portuguese a century before.

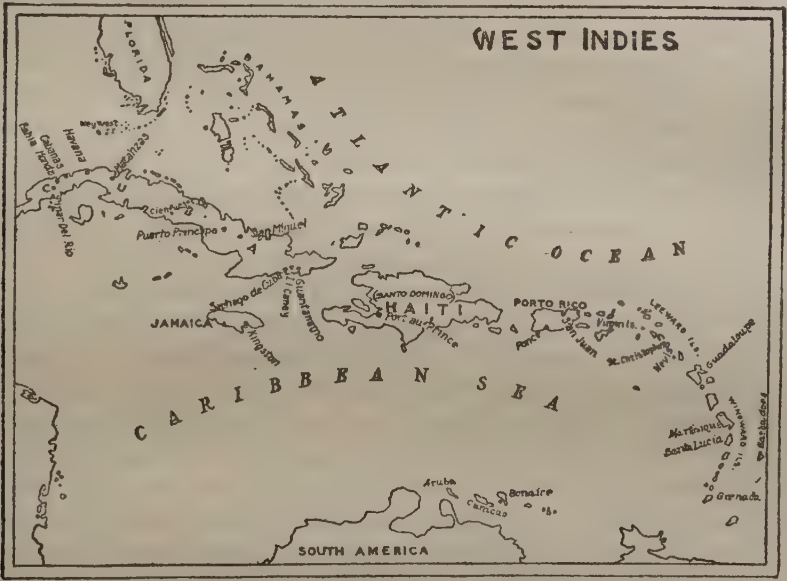
We see from all this that a new element of great importance to Europe was steadily growing up in the colonies. It was from the colonies that Holland and England drew the wealth and the influence that enabled them over and over to defeat the designs of Spain and France. These states first made colonial commerce profitable, like that which they carried on at home, by making it comparatively free, and by admitting the principle of peaceful competition, and they found out how to nourish it with plenty of capital by the system of companies. The French, or rather the people of Normandy and Brittany, followed their example; and the system of Spain and Portugal, though its main lines were allowed to stand untouched, soon showed a disadvantageous contrast with that of the free commercial nations. During the period we have described, the Dutch became the first nation in Europe. In the space of half a century, from having no ocean-going ships at all, they came to have more than all the rest of Europe put together. In 1672 they were strong enough to defy the united force of England and France. They surpassed all the rest in art, learning, and manufactures; and both there and in England the whole national life was animated by the impulse of commercial enterprise. It was a movement which proceeded from the merchants of the large towns, and to which the government of neither country contributed in the first instance anything more than bare countenance. It led, however, in both cases, to the predominance of commercial principles in the national policy, and through this to a substantial national greatness unknown to the feudal monarchies of Spain and Portugal. The Dutch led the way, as they did in the changes in government at home. Their best statesmen, such as the great John de Witt, steadily advocated colonial enterprise. The Dutch seldom failed in their undertakings; but the English everywhere followed and outstripped them. The Dutch first made the general interest of the community the ground of their policy, and the community permanently profited by the results. The Dutch did not, like the English in after times, form agricultural colonies by sending out large numbers of poor or persecuted colonists from home, because in Holland there was neither poverty nor persecution; their religious toleration combined with economical principles to prevent them from setting up exclusive religious establishments, such as consumed much of the wealth of the Portuguese and Spanish colonies, and in this respect their example was in general wisely followed by the English. Capital was expected to furnish a due return; and as the policy of the companies who shared the trade of the East did not admit of its unlimited application, a new form of its employment was found out. Neither mining, agricultural, nor trading settlements, such as we have hitherto had in question, were to form the main body of what Europe for many years regarded as its most valuable possessions. It was found that many of the productions of the East, and some which the East did not afford, could be cultivated to advantage nearer home; and for nearly two centuries much of the enterprise of Europe streamed to the West Indies, utterly neglected or mismanaged by Spain, where each nation seized upon possessions of its own. Thus we come to the "Plantations."

Chapter IV

THE PLANTATIONS. 1600-1775

TOGETHER with the mainland of America the Spaniards claimed all the West India Islands. These, indeed, had been the first discovery of their navigators, and upon them they had made their earliest settlements. But the gold and silver which they afforded was now exhausted, and the Spaniards cared for little else. They did, indeed, draw from them a supply of hides, tallow, and provisions, and in the course of time they raised from them small quantities of cocoa and indigo; but the Spanish planters had neither the genius to see the wonderful capacities of the soil, nor the industry and the enterprise necessary to bring them into effect. In their hands, these beautiful and fertile islands, which afterward became the very garden of the world, were utterly neglected, and it was not wonderful that other nations should seek to dispossess them, as soon as the proved weakness of Spain at sea showed that this could be attempted with safety. The way for this was paved by the situation of the islands on the route to Mexico and Peru. To their countless coves and thick covers smugglers and pirates of all nations resorted to lie in wait for the Spanish galleons, and to carry on a contraband trade; and the English, Dutch, and French soon became better acquainted with their geography than the Spaniards themselves. From the map we see that they lie in distinct groups. There are the four Great Antilles, Cuba, Santo Domingo, Jamaica, and Porto Rico; the Lesser Antilles, comprising the Leeward Islands, a continuation of the Greater Antilles, including the Virgin Islands, St. Christopher and Nevis, and all the islands as far as Martinique, and the Windward Islands, so called from their facing the east, from Santa Lucia southward, and all now belonging to England; and Curaçao, Bonaire, and Aruba, sometimes known as the Little Antilles, formerly called the Leeward Islands, belonging to Holland, and lying off the coast of Venezuela. The Bahamas, north of Cuba, have but little to do with the West Indies. Of these islands only the

Greater Antilles were thought by the Spaniards worth occupying: but they were resolved to keep the adventurers of other nations from settling in the others. This was impossible; the English and Dutch were better seamen, and as fast as the Spanish captains dislodged them from one place, they fixed themselves in another; and many small colonies were formed before any encroachments on the rights of Spain were sanctioned by any European power. Most of the small islands were inhabited by a fierce race of cannibals, who were the terror of the gentler Indians of the Greater Antilles. If the Spaniards had thought the natives worth conquering, it would have been a hard task, and the smugglers and pirates themselves generally sought out a deserted island for their retreat. In this way the island of Barbados, which lay in the way of ships bound for Guiana and Brazil, was occupied by the English shortly after the death of Elizabeth. It was a desolate and unpeopled spot. The English discerned the advantages of the soil and climate; and its defensibility (being fortified by nature on two out of its three sides) and its remoteness from the route of the Spanish *guarda-costas* encouraged their first attempts at planting it with cotton, tobacco, and indigo. Sugar, the great staple of the plantations, was not as yet introduced; but the industry



of the planters prepared the way for its success. An accidental circumstance gave rise to a double occupation of St. Christopher, one of the Leeward Islands. In 1625 D'Esnambuc, a French privateer of Dieppe, had been worsted in an encounter with a Spanish galleon, and putting into the island to refit, found there a considerable number of his countrymen. He was so struck with its capabilities, that on his return he obtained from Cardinal Richelieu a charter incorporating a French West India Company. Returning to the islands, he made other settlements on Martinique and Guadaloupe, in the Windward Islands. About the same time Thomas Warner, an Englishman, formed a settlement in similar circumstances on the south side of St. Christopher. The Spaniards drove out the settlers of both nations in 1630; but they soon returned, though many of the French settlers migrated to the more promising colonies of the Windward Islands. Thus were formed the first English and French settlements in the West Indies, which afterward contributed so much to the wealth of the mother countries, and to the formation of their general colonial policy. All the Greater Antilles were still in the possession of Spain.

The name buccaneers was usually given during the seventeenth century to the French, English, and Dutch adventurers who flocked to the West Indies to prey upon the Spanish fleets and colonies. The Dutch were chiefly smugglers; the English and French chiefly pirates. Many of them began as planters, but they found piracy a more congenial and gainful pursuit. Thousands of adventurous men, with swift and well-found ships, swept the seas in search of plunder, landing now and then to burn a Spanish town, or to hunt wild cattle, whose flesh they smoked over their *boucanes* or wood fires; hence they were called buccaneers. Their swift ships were called in Dutch *vliebooten,* or flying-boats: and hence the name of freebooters or filibusters. The recorded exploits of these marauders fill large volumes. They greatly increased in strength and numbers as the permanent settlements of the English and French increased in the latter half of the century; and it is calculated that if they had acted upon a uniform plan, with a better discipline, and under a leader of genius, they might without difficulty have conquered all the Americas. They harassed all the shores of New Spain; they passed the Straits of Magellan, and spread the terror of their name as far as California. Van Horn, at the head of 1500 Dutch and French, took Vera Cruz in 1683 under the guns of the Spanish fleet; Morgan, a Welshman, who was afterward Governor of Jamaica, took Porto Bello and Panama; and the names of Grammont, Lolonois, and Dampier were long words of fear on all the Spanish coasts. In time of war the European governments encouraged them; indeed, for half a century and more they carried out the deliberate policy of the European governments. Privateering was reckoned a regular business, like planting; and the governments received tenths and fifteenths of the booty as the public share. And after 1670, when Spain ceased to assert an exclusive claim to the West Indies, there was much ado to induce them to give up piracy and turn planters. The buccaneers were tempted with grants of land; but the home governments were in the end driven to repress them by force of arms. Many fruitless expeditions were sent out for their reduction, and the privateers who were licensed to cruise against them often ended by joining them. West Indian piracy was only slowly extinguished. One of the last of the English pirates, Captain Kidd, was hanged on the shore of the Thames in 1701: but the exploits of the filibuster General Walker, in the nineteenth century, show that freebooting will exist as long as the temptations which excite it are stronger than the power which should put it down. The chief trace which the buccaneers have left on history is the French colony in the western part of Santo Domingo and the little neighboring island of Tortuga. This was originally a buccaneer settlement, which gradually formed a rude pirate-like constitution and code of laws. The inhabitants were chiefly of French descent, and the French Government took them under its protection in 1665. Other pirate-like settlements were formed by the Maroons, as the runaway negroes of the West Indies were called. These often collected in great numbers, and formed a rude kind of community which defied the attacks of the whites. A colony of Maroons established in the center of Jamaica resisted all the attacks of the planters, and was at last allowed to exist in peace; there was another famous one in Brazil, and the Maroons of St. Vincent were ultimately taken under the protection of the French and made a regular colony.

The sugar cane had been successfully cultivated for two centuries by the Portuguese, who learned its use from the Venetians. Brazil became the chief source of the supply, and the demand in Europe was so great that the sugar trade speedily became the most profitable one in which capital could be engaged. The Dutch, who had long carried this precious article from Lisbon to all the ports of Europe, made their famous and daring invasion of Brazil entirely for the sake of sugar; and they greatly extended the cultivation of the cane after the Brazilian coast came into their possession. The cane flourished in Barbados, but the English planters knew no other use for it than to brew a refreshing drink for that hot climate until 1640, when a Dutchman from Brazil landed in the island, and taught them the secret of ripening the cane, which was by letting it grow fifteen months instead of twelve, and of boiling the juice. In a few years Barbados became prodigiously prosperous by the introduction of the sugar trade. The whole of the leeward coasts of this island were soon covered with plantations and in twenty years 50,000 English settled there. The civil wars in England increased the number of the planters, who, like those of Brazil, were chiefly men of wealth. The growth of Barbados went on fast from 1640 to 1650. It had a free trade with the Dutch and Portuguese; an independent constitution, though nominally the fief of a proprietary grantee; and as most of the planters were cavaliers, they resisted what they thought to be the usurpation of the Parliament. They called the island "Little England," and in the planters of Barbados we certainly find the earliest type of the true English colonist. They were, however, reduced to submission by Cromwell, and his Act of Navigation forced them to give up all trade except with the mother country. Cromwell did a great deal for the West Indies by sending many of his Irish and Scotch prisoners out thither as slaves. Seven thousand Scotch, for example, were sold to the West Indian planters after the battle of Worcester. The same thing was done in 1716 after the rebellion of the Pretender. Before the combined effect of the Act of Navigation, the growth of the French plantations, and the rivalry of Jamaica, Barbados was the most populous, rich, and industrious spot on the earth. In 1657, 14,000*l.* was reckoned the smallest capital with which a planter could settle upon an estate of 500 acres; but this sum easily yielded more than fifty per cent. every year. The continual hostility of the Spaniards to all other Europeans in the West Indies, and the relentless cruelty which accompanied it, together with the enormous advantage which England might obviously reap from extending her possessions, made Cromwell resolve upon a bold stroke, which was worthy of his statesmanship. This was the conquest of the magnificent island of Santo Domingo, the most valuable of the Greater Antilles; and he sent out for this purpose in 1655 an expedition of 10,000 men, under Admiral Penn and General Venables. Most of it was in the possession of the Spaniards, though the French buccaneers had settlements in the west of the island. The English were repulsed by the Spaniards; but, unwilling to return to England without some glory, they attacked the neighboring island of Jamaica before its inhabitants had heard the news of their defeat. Jamaica was at this time in a poor condition. The Spaniards had lost all their labor by their cruel treatment of the natives; they had taken those of the Bahama Islands, but these were also exhausted; they were too idle and proud to work themselves, and too poor to buy negroes. The English took it; and in a hundred years it became one of the richest places in the world. Cromwell settled in the island some of the troops who had won it; they were joined by many settlers from home, and planters soon came from Barbados, especially many Quakers, whom the Royalists of that island would not tolerate. Cromwell ordered the Scotch Government to gather together all the idle and disaffected people they could lay hands on, and shipped them off hither as laborers, and he procured many more, of both sexes, from Ireland. At first there was great distress among these poor creatures, but it ceased as soon as the work of planting began. The sugar cane, with its three valuable products—sugar, rum, and molasses—pimento, cotton, aloes, ginger, and logwood, soon took the place of cocoa; and the trade of Jamaica with England and the English colonies in North America grew rapidly in importance. The manufactures and navigation of the mother country were greatly stimulated; and the culture of the cane was extended to the smaller islands of Antigua, which had been deemed by the Spaniards uninhabitable, Nevis, and Montserrat.

The Knights of Malta had obtained of Richelieu a grant of St. Christopher and three other West Indian Islands: and they sent out thither as governor the wise and politic De Poincy, under whom their progress was slow, though in the end it outstripped even that of the English islands. De Poincy, by personal study, greatly improved upon the method of sugar-making in use in Brazil and Madeira. He ruled at Basse Terre, in St. Christopher, twenty-one years; and once a week he administered justice to the people under a great fig-tree. There were three other groups in French hands, in each of which the principal islands were Guadaloupe, Martinique, and Grenada; these groups belonged to three different proprietors. All the French islands carried on a flourishing trade with the Dutch. Colbert, in the next generation, perceived that the plantations might be made much more thriving under one government, and accordingly in 1664 he purchased them of their owners and handed them over to a company; but as this did not flourish, it was dissolved in 1674, and the islands were placed under a department of the government. The settlement on Santo Domingo soon became the most important, and just as the encroachments of the English settlers had been confirmed by treaty, the French Government acquired a legal right to the western part of this island in 1697. By the introduction of negro labor a few years afterward, the activity of French enterprise made it the most important settlement in all America. Sugar, cotton, cocoa, and ginger, and afterward coffee, were exported hence in great quantities to France. Besides this the French had settled on the coast of Guiana, and they took under their protection the Maroons, or runaway negroes, who had formed a colony for themselves on the Island of St. Vincent. The progress of the French plantations was at first slower than that of the English, but through the wise fostering care of the government it gradually overtook them. The great minister, Colbert, placed them under a Council of Commerce; they were relieved of taxes, even for the payment of the salary of their governors; the smallest duties were levied on their produce; whereas Charles II. had laid on the English plantations a yearly tax of four and one-half per cent. upon their gross value. The French Government were the first to grant lands gratis to poor and industrious emigrants; and they often lent money to the planters when the plantations were destroyed by hurricanes. They allowed the ships of their merchants strong convoys, and built fortifications to protect the islands from pirates. The improvement of trade and navigation was steadily pursued as an object of state policy to a higher degree than elsewhere. Besides the mother-country the French plantations had lawful markets for their produce in Canada, Cape Breton, and Louisiana, as well as the contraband Spanish trade.

When the Portuguese drove the Dutch from Brazil, and the Treaty of Nymwegen dispossessed them of New York, they had nothing left on the continent but Surinam, the scene of the failure of Raleigh, which the Zealanders had conquered in the war with England, and which was ceded to them by the treaty. They had, however, taken possession of Curaçao and St. Eustatius about 1634, and here they cultivated sugar and tobacco. All these settlements, together with one on Cape Verde and another on the Guinea coast, were in the hands of the Dutch West India Company. But the rich commerce of the East engrossed most of the Dutch capital; and the Dutch had more genius for commerce than planting. Curaçao had a fine harbor, and it soon became a great depot for East Indian goods, for the Dutch smugglers were able to supply the Spaniards of the continent with them much more cheaply than through the lawful channel of trade. Here also the Spaniards purchased their negro slaves from the Dutch slavers. Curaçao was for a long time to the West Indies what Amsterdam was to Europe; all the colonists came thither to buy the commodities of Europe and the East. The Danes took possession in 1671 of the Island of St. Thomas, when they allowed the free citizens of Hamburg also to maintain a factory, and to this the Danes afterward added that of Santa Cruz, purchased from France; but they did not extend their cultivation beyond the demands of their own market. The commodious harbor of St. Thomas was a frequent resort of the buccaneers, and its neutrality has made it from early times the center of communication for all the West India islands. It naturally became another center of the smuggling trade with the Spanish colonies. The Dutch and the Danes were chiefly traders, and their plantations were quite unimportant by comparison with those of the English and French. For a century and a half the Spaniards, though they possessed the finest of the islands, had no plantations. Private enterprise is necessary to the success of plantations; and the Spanish colonial system did not favor private enterprise. Cuba produced nothing of importance; nor was it until the vast trade of Santo Domingo was destroyed in its terrible struggle for independence that the plantations of Cuba rose to supply its place. Even then, it was long before a hundredth part of its surface was in a state of cultivation. Havana indeed, the capital of that island, was the emporium of the trade of New and Old Spain; and it was important as a naval station against pirates and smugglers. The large and fertile island of Porto Rico long remained a mere desert, and Trinidad did not prosper until it ceased to be Spanish. To keep the best West India Islands in this unproductive state was perhaps good policy on the part of the Spaniards. If they had settled there, they would have tempted the attacks of the French and English, and under the Spanish system of trading they would have produced no profit to the mother-country. This is equally true of the lower or maritime parts of Mexico. The Spaniards were afraid to drain and cultivate them, and they looked on this deserted and unwholesome coast as a frontier against the enemy. The towns on the seacoast were often deserted, and rebuilt in the interior, because of the ravages of the buccaneers.

America in every way depended on Africa for labor. The Spaniards and Portuguese wanted negroes for their mines of gold, silver, and diamonds; the English and French for their plantations of sugar, tobacco, rice, and indigo. It is true that a large number of white laborers freely resorted both to the French and the English plantations as lately as the middle of the eighteenth century, and that convicts were transported thither, who were forced to labor for a certain number of years, after which they became small planters themselves, or emigrated afresh to the colonies on the continent. But the supply of white labor was small and precarious; the planters, especially the French, treated the *engagés,* as they were called, with great cruelty; the system could not be applied on a very large scale, and the planters generally found it necessary, and always found it best, to invest a certain proportion of their capital in the purchase of negroes. The Dutch in Java and Ceylon could compel the natives to labor; but in the other continent, the Portuguese and Spaniards found the natives as incapable of laboring as themselves. But the hardy negroes of Africa soon supplied their place. From time immemorial the Moors had sold them in the markets of Europe and the East, and the Portuguese, following the steps of the Moors, introduced them in the West. Every Portuguese settlement on the coast of Africa was an inexhaustible source of negro labor, and the Portuguese settlers in Brazil were the first to take advantage of it. The Dutch and English soon followed in the wake of the Portuguese, and as the latter in the end possessed themselves of all the Portuguese carrying-trade, the slave trade fell mainly into their hands. The English had acquired as early as the time of Queen Elizabeth some factories on the African coast, and these now became most valuable on account of the slave trade. But the Portuguese always kept to themselves the trade of the east coast of Africa, where the slave traffic was carried on to the best advantage. So great were the toils of the plantations that the negro population of Barbados wasted away at the rate of sixteen per cent. per annum, and the keener the competition between the French and English planters the harder became the stress on the unfortunate blacks. The negroes, besides, were used by Spain to work the mines of Mexico and Peru, and they were imported in large numbers into New Grenada. The French Guinea Company had enjoyed the privilege of supplying them, which was called the Assiento; but in 1713, the English took away this profitable trade from the French, and compelled Spain to a treaty by which she could purchase no slaves, except from English vessels. The English thus finally monopolized a trade which they had shared for 150 years, ever since Hawkins first carried negroes for sale from Guinea to Española. In the colonies of Virginia and Carolina, where the slaves were employed in the cultivation of cotton, tobacco, and rice, they rather multiplied than dwindled. The slaves were far worse off in the English colonies than in any other country in the ancient or modern world. In the French plantations, the Code Noir was established by Louis XIV. in 1685, to shield them from cruelty; it gave slaves some important civil and social rights, and forbade the separation of families; but everywhere else they have always been entirely at the mercy of the planter. From the beginning there have been revolts and disturbances on the part of the negroes, and these were repressed and punished in the most cruel and inhuman manner. Even a century ago rebel negroes were in Jamaica burned alive by inches at a slow fire, and the gentlest punishment was to hang them alive in chains and leave them to die of hunger. The Dutch treated their slaves more cruelly still; but the Spaniards were more humane, and they had nothing to do with the slave trade itself—that is, with the business of buying the slaves in the ports of Africa, and shipping them to those of America. It was necessary to continue this trade, for the number of the slaves continually diminished; and its abolition, in different parts of the world, has always been the beginning of the abolition of slavery itself. The Danes were the first to abolish the slave traffic, England, France, and the United States of North America followed. The abolition of slavery in Brazil, Cuba, and Porto Rico put an end to the trade in the western hemisphere. It is certain that the West Indies, and every part of the earth that is worth cultivating, may be cultivated without slave labor, though not on so large a scale as is possible with it. Economists have shown that nothing is so dear as slave labor, and that only the most remunerative crops will sustain the loss which it entails; and wherever free labor has been successfully introduced in sufficient quantity, production has in the end been stimulated by the change.

In 1660, or thirty-five years after their first permanent settlements were made, England and France agreed to divide the West India Islands, and to adopt a common policy toward the natives, who never ceased to harass them. England was confirmed in the possession of Barbados, Nevis, Antigua, and Montserrat, and several smaller islands; France in that of Guadaloupe, Martinique, Grenada, and some smaller islands; while St. Christopher remained common to both. The remains of the aborigines, about 6000 in number, were driven to the islands of Dominica, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent. But both England and France claimed these islands. Such settlements as were made on them were French, and the two latter islands were occupied under Marshal D'Estrées in 1719. In 1748 these islands were declared neutral; but in 1763 they were all given up to England, except St. Lucia, and the wretched remnant of the natives were driven to the continent. Until the anti-slavery movement grew irresistible, the West Indies never ceased to be an object of jealousy to the two governments. With the growth of these valuable possessions the struggles of Europe first reached the shores of the New World, and in the course of the European wars many of the West India Islands have changed hands several times. Thus, Antigua and Montserrat were taken by the French, but restored at the Peace of Breda. One of the first incidents in the war waged by the Grand Alliance of Western Europe against Louis XIV. was the expulsion of the English from St. Christopher; but Captain Wren recovered the honor of the English flag, and the Peace of Ryswick restored things as they were. In the War of the Spanish Succession, Nevis and other English islands were attacked by the French, but without permanent success; in the Seven Years' War (1756) the English marine proved superior to that of Spain and France united; and by the Peace of Paris in 1763 the English possessions were increased by the islands of Grenada, Dominica, and Tobago. In the war which followed the independence of America and the French Revolution, changes took place by which on the whole England benefited, and the power of England in the West Indies has steadily increased, at the expense firstly of Spain, and secondly of her rival France. The French islands, however, have always surpassed the English islands in prosperity and good management. This is partly because most of the French planters lived permanently on their island, whereas the English always went home when they had made their fortunes, and became absentees, whose only interest was to get as much money as possible out of their estates. They committed the whole care of their estates to some shipping agent living in London or Bristol, whose business it was to furnish the plantation with all that was necessary, and to receive and dispose of the produce when sent home. Hence there never arose in the British plantations a class of wealthy and independent merchants like those of the French islands.

Not only did the wealth of the West Indies stimulate the manufactures of the mother countries, but it gave the agricultural colonies on the continent of North America their first impulse to produce more than they consumed. The great populations of the West India Islands had to be fed, and land was too valuable there to be used for producing corn and beef. Each group of islands included indeed some one which was specially destined to raising fresh provisions for the rest, such as the English island of Barbuda, and the Dutch island of Aruba. But the continent alone could supply subsistence to so large a multitude of laborers; and the exports of beef, pork, and cheese from Canada to the French islands, and from New England to the English islands, soon became immense. Each district seemed formed to supply the wants of the other. Besides, a great market was opened here for the refuse of the great Newfoundland fishery, for the advantages of which the French now began to contend, though without success. In return for these imports the islands supplied the continent with the products of the cane. Many of the islands, however, were still supplied with provisions from the mother countries; and in the middle of the eighteenth century, when the English colonies of North America had already begun to send corn to feed the increased population of England, the vast colony of Brazil was dependent upon Europe for its daily bread. With this increased traffic came a vast growth of the contraband trade.

The French islands were fast outstripping the English in wealth and population, and were able to produce so much more cheaply than the latter that the growth of a smuggling trade between them and New England was inevitable. Trade will always find the channel which is natural to it, and smuggling in all its branches was soon practiced in the West Indies with great skill and success. The Dutch, Danish, and French islands were markets for all European manufactures; the Spaniards came to buy there because it was the cheapest market; and the Spanish Government was forced to connive at the practice. The success of their plantations led the French to conceive the grand idea of colonizing the vast and fertile island of Madagascar. Colbert had already encouraged the Oriental trade by the establishment, in 1664, of a French East India Company with a charter of fifty years' duration, and great privileges of every kind, and he intended to make Madagascar the bulwark of the future French empire in India. Few projects have been more promising. The island was fertile in all the products of the tropics; the people were numerous, intelligent, and docile; and nothing was wanting but skill, honesty, and perseverance on the part of the company's agents. But these were wanting. Many of the colonists quitted the island in despair, and in 1672 those who remained were massacred by the natives. A century elapsed before the attempt was renewed; but it was not completely successful until 1895. The chief result of these attempts was the introduction of rice, the principal staple of Madagascar, into the Carolinas. A lasting impulse was given to English shipbuilding and navigation by the vast trade of the plantations. The Spanish and Portuguese colonies traded with Europe only by means of the government register ships, and the Dutch and French had established a monopoly, though a far less pernicious one, in committing the trade of both Indies to exclusive companies. The Act of Navigation deprived the Dutch of the trade of the West Indies, of which they had hitherto been in possession; and the trade to the whole Atlantic coast of America, including the islands, was opened to English vessels and closed to all others. Barbados alone employed about four hundred; and the effect of the great traffic to and fro was to raise the power of the English at sea in the space of fifty years to a position which rivaled that of the Dutch themselves. The preponderance, however, of the Eastern trade maintained the Dutch in the front rank down to the end of the seventeenth century. After that time, the successive growth of the West Indies, of the North American colonies, and of the English East Indian trade, placed the English greatly in advance of all other nations.

The establishment of the plantations may be taken as a favorable opportunity for reviewing the progress of colonization during the five or six generations after that of Gama and Columbus. The largest space in the eye of the world was still at this time occupied by the gold- and silver-producing countries of South America. The silver of Mexico and Peru had greatly contributed to the extension of commerce in the eastern hemisphere; and each of the nations which were competing for the trade of the East anticipated the day when its grasp should be laid on the riches of the West. This, at any rate, was the belief of Spain; and hence the severe struggles of Spain to prevent the settlements of other nations in the West Indies and on the American coast. These settlements grew entirely out of the expeditions of the buccaneers, who harassed the Spaniards by sea and land; the islands were gradually taken up by the planters of several nations, encouraged and assisted by the governments, all hostile to the pretensions of Spain. The capture of Jamaica, in 1655, marks the period when the lawless rule of the buccaneers began to be exchanged for the control of European governments. England and France were spreading in different directions in the northern hemisphere; the trade of the Dutch with the East was at its zenith; neither the English nor French could pretend to be their rivals, for the Dutch trade supplied most of continental Europe, while neither the trade of England nor France as yet extended beyond their own needs. The most important object, next to the possession of lands rich in gold and silver, was that of a soil rich in productions which were readily exchanged for gold and silver in the markets of Europe. The plantations soon began to eclipse the Eastern trade, and it is to their rise that we may attribute the slow growth of the French and English East India companies. How great the importance of the plantations was may be judged from the fact that at the time of the French Revolution France drew as much wealth from the single island of Santo Domingo as England drew from India, or Spain from Mexico and Peru. Nor did the European wars retard the general growth of the plantations, for the capture of an island always stimulated its productions by the influx of new planters.

It was calculated that every European employed in the plantations, including the sailors employed in the trade thither, furnished employment for four pairs of hands at home. Thus, as in 1670 it was calculated that 250,000 English were engaged in planting or in the plantation trade, 1,000,000 of people, or one-seventh of the entire population, must have been dependent upon it at home. On the whole, we may say that the West India plantations were to England in the time of Charles II. very much what the cotton and iron manufactures are in our own times, and that their importance was so much the greater, as there had been nothing to disturb the balance of the landed and mercantile interests, greatly in favor of the former, which had existed since the time of Henry VIII. This balance was now reversed, and the growth of the mercantile interest was accompanied by the growth of a new political doctrine known as Whiggism, based, like the former, on an adoption of Dutch ideas. Political troubles had contributed to the growth of the English plantations; and when these were over, it seemed as if the impulse to West Indian enterprise was checked. At any rate, the eighteenth century has but little enterprise to show. Land was selling for 100*l.* an acre in Barbados; but no one attempted to colonize the Bahamas, and not one-tenth part of Jamaica was under cultivation. An energetic and sagacious government might have changed the face of affairs; but in the meantime a different field of enterprise was being opened. The plantations had helped the growth of agricultural colonies, and the latter soon rose to an unexpected degree of importance.

Chapter V

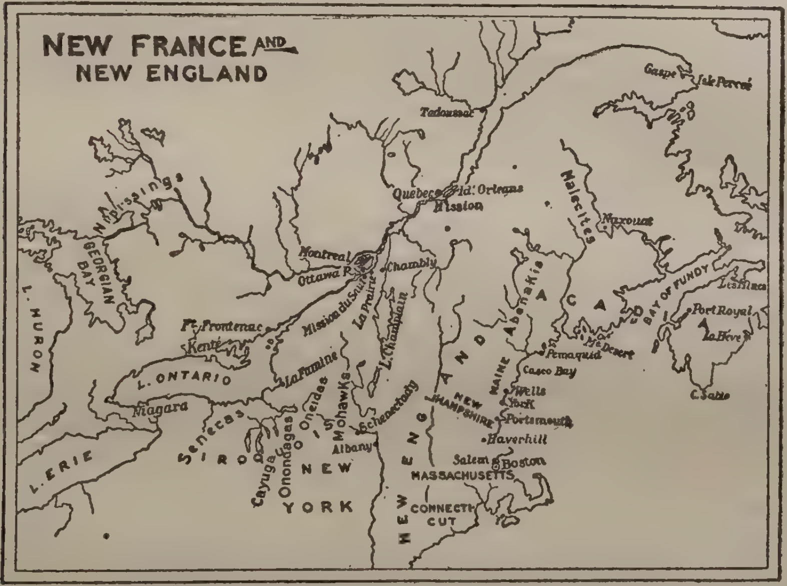
NEW FRANCE AND NEW ENGLAND. 1500-1777

THE discoverers of America were speedily followed by the hardy sailors of Normandy and Brittany. One of these, in 1506, reached the mouth of the great River St. Lawrence, and called the country on its west side Cape Breton. The French, hearing the natives talk of their *canada,* or huts, supposed this to be the name of the country; but it went at first by the name of Acadia. The French were not disposed to forego their claims to America, and Francis I. was as anxious as anyone else to share in the gold and silver of the New World. He would certainly have fitted out ships for the East Indies had not his wars with Charles V. prevented it. In 1523 he sent out an expedition of discovery to the American coast under Verazzano, of Florence; but his plans were cut short by misfortunes at home. Francis was taken prisoner at Pavia, and Verazzano never returned to France. Ten years passed before the attempt was renewed. At last Francis sent out a second expedition, commanded by Jacques Cartier, of St. Malo, which had more important consequences. In 1534 Cartier sailed up the St. Lawrence, and saw the capacity of its banks for receiving a great agricultural colony; he called the place New France, and in 1540 he conducted thither 200 colonists, under François de Roberval as lieutenant general, who formed the germ of the future "Canadian nation," as the French settlers afterward learned to call themselves. But the wars of Spain and France hindered the progress of this colony, and Cartier himself, foiled in the attempt to reach the East Indies by a northwest passage, lost all heart for further discoveries. The first permanent settlement in Canada was founded by Champlain in 1608.

Everywhere we may trace the effect of the Reformation on the direction and character of colonial enterprise. The colony on the St. Lawrence was Catholic; and the great Protestant statesman Coligny formed plans for colonies which should be a retreat for the Huguenots, whose final defeat he foresaw, and thither he hoped himself to retire and end his days in peace. But every one of his projects failed. The first attempt was made in Brazil in 1556. Coligny entrusted this expedition to a Knight of Malta, called Villegaignon; but this man, seeing the Huguenot cause failing at home, tried to make the colony Catholic. Many French Protestants and Flemings who were ready to emigrate to Rio Janeiro stayed at home, and the Portuguese expelled all the French in 1560. In 1562 an attempt was made to found a Huguenot colony in Florida. Many of the nobility went out, and they were accompanied by a strong guard of troops. For a time all went on well, but in 1564 the Spaniards took possession of the colony, and massacred the settlers. They put up an inscription stating that this was done not because the murdered men were Frenchmen, but because they were Protestants. Three years afterward a Huguenot called De Gourgues sailed to Florida, took the forts, and hung up all the Spaniards with an inscription over their heads, "Not as Spaniards, but as robbers and murderers." Thus far the French were everywhere unfortunate. The English successfully contested with them the possession of the great Newfoundland fishery. Several parties of fishermen from Normandy, Brittany, and Biscay tried to establish themselves there about 1598, but all attempts at a permanent colony failed.

With the return of peace in the seventeenth century, French attempts to colonize took a successful turn. In 1603 Champlain made the first permanent settlement on the St. Lawrence; a fort was built on the cliff of Quebec, and a few years afterward a few wooden cabins arose on the island of Montreal. The new settlement was formed exactly on the model of Old France. Great tracts of lands were granted out as fiefs to any who seemed likely to carry settlers out with them. The lord selected a strong position for his own domain, and around this were spread the holdings of the peasantry, granted out freely at small quit-rents. The peasants were bound to military service, which was often in requisition against the Indians. The lord had the sole right of grinding corn, of trading in furs, and of fishing; so that Canada was from the first an agricultural colony on the feudal model. The wooded peninsula at the mouth of the St. Lawrence had not escaped the notice of the French voyagers, and in 1602 Henry IV. granted it by the native name of La Cadie, afterward Latinized as Acadia, to

Pierre de Monts, a Protestant nobleman, who founded a small colony in the great harbor, which he called Portroyal, and another on one of the islands at the mouth of the River La Croix. Though De Monts was a Huguenot, the colony was accompanied by Catholic fathers to convert the Indians. But the English, who were far stronger on these coasts than the French, viewed these beginnings with jealousy; the whole coast was claimed by them as part of Virginia, and the governor of Jamestown, in 1613, destroyed all the French settlements in Acadia, which the Catholic government at home took small pains to protect. The country remained uncolonized until 1621, and the two nations continued to share the fishery. James I. made a fresh settlement of Acadia in 1621, granting it to Sir William Alexander, afterward Earl of Stirling, by the name of Nova Scotia or New Scotland. Alexander sold it out in large portions to intending emigrants, who were dignified by the king with the title of Baronets of Nova Scotia; and he then sold the whole colony to Louis XIII. of France. Charles I. confirmed the sale on his marriage with the sister of Louis XIII., and the French reappeared off Portroyal. In 1627 war broke out between France and England, and Alexander, assisted by another Scotchman, Sir David Kirk, conquered the whole of



the French settlements, which they divided between them, Kirk taking the parts about Quebec as his share, and Alexander Acadia. But when peace was made, in 1631, Richelieu recovered both places for France, paying, of course, a proper compensation to Kirk and Alexander; and he secured the French a participation in the fisheries. The title of Baronet of Nova Scotia, however, still survived as an honorary distinction, and many Scotch gentlemen were glad to pay a good sum for having it conferred upon them.

In his expedition of 1596 Cabot had discovered Newfoundland and taken possession of the whole coast, but for a long time the English made no attempts at colonization. The fisheries were sought by English vessels as early as the reign of Edward VI., and although the vessels of Spain and other nations were more numerous than the English, the right of England to the coast came gradually to be acknowledged. The reign of Elizabeth saw the beginning of English colonial enterprise. By this time France had occupied the St. Lawrence, although there was no permanent settlement on the St. Lawrence until 1608, and Spain had taken Florida, so that the English were obliged to content themselves with the intermediate coasts. Jealousy and hatred of Spain, combined with a bold spirit of adventure, drove the English to settle in the new world. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a Devonshire mariner, sailed for America in 1580; and though he failed to reach it, he started again in 1582. His best ship was only of 200 tons burden, and the *Squirrel,* in which he sailed himself, was only of ten tons. His expedition was lost at sea, only one of his ships, the *Golden Hind,* returning safe to England. The English gained experience in their great naval wars with Spain, but all individual attempts at colonies were unsuccessful. Sir Walter Raleigh headed seven expeditions to America; in 1584 and 1587 he tried to settle a colony called Virginia, in honor of the virgin Queen Elizabeth; but it was not until the reign of James I. and the establishment of the London and Plymouth companies that this was effected. After 1606 the English North American colonies steadily grew along the shore.[1] In the interior, they were stopped by the range of mountains called the Appalachians, or Alleghanies, which separate the coast country from the great basin of the Mississippi and its tributaries, the country beyond being at first quite unknown, and afterward claimed by France. Agriculture made far more progress in the English colonies than in New France, where the trade with the Indians for skins, and the fisheries, chiefly occupied the attention of the settlers; and in the English colonies the mountain frontier afforded a protection against the hostility of the natives, which was wanting in Canada.

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[1] The first permanent English settlement was at Jamestown, Va., in 1607; the second at Plymouth, Mass., in 1620.

Beyond this barrier the vast regions of the Mississippi and the Ohio remained in possession of the Indians, and the French were the first to conceive the idea of displacing them. As with the Spaniards and Portuguese, Christianity was employed by the French as an engine of conquest, and the Jesuit missionaries began to spread all over the Indian country from the north. In 1680 La Salle reached the mouth of the Mississippi, and was entrusted by Louis XIV. with the conduct of the first attempt at the settlement of the country about there. The attempt failed; but it was renewed about 1700 by Iberville, a Canadian. The French claimed the whole country from the mouth of the Mississippi to the Lakes and the St. Lawrence, and the name of New France was given to it on the maps. This claim violated the principle that whatever nation possessed the seacoast was entitled to the interior as far as colonization was possible. Davenant, in 1698, pointed out that the consequence of allowing the ambition of France to work its way unchecked would be to cramp the growing colonies of England, and in the years which followed the necessity of planting a new set of colonies in the west on the Mississippi and on its tributaries, was urged by the English. The few settlers of either nation who found their way into these remote parts were exposed to the hostilities of each other, and of the savage Indian tribes, although the boundaries were settled by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, and in 1756 a great war was fought for the decision of the question. In the meantime, just as in the West Indian plantations, England had been slowly strengthening her position. In 1713, by the Peace of Utrecht, she once more gained Acadia, or Nova Scotia, though this rich land long remained little better than a wilderness; and the colony of Georgia was founded in 1732 as a barrier at once against France and against Spain in the south. No English colony advanced so fast as Pennsylvania. Besides religious toleration, this was due in a great measure to the liberal dealing of Penn with his settlers, and to its security from the attacks of the Indians, who had been kindly treated by him. Forty years after its establishment, Pennsylvania had more inhabitants than Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland together.[2]

Wherever the French have gained a footing, the English have sooner or later supplanted them. The route by land to Hudson's Bay, discovered by the English navigator of that name in 1610, was first explored by the French, and a trade in peltry with the Indians was commenced; but English traders soon followed, and a company for the acquisition of the trade was formed in 1670. The French in 1682 undertook to dislodge them, and in 1685 De Troyes drove them from all their possessions except Port Nelson. The Hudson Bay Company, however, continued to flourish, and by the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, the French were obliged to renounce all their pretensions to these settlements, though they continued to carry on a great trade in furs through Canada. No trade was so profitable as this to those who engaged in it. The furs of the Arctic zone, formerly bought at a vast price from the merchants of Italy, who procured them by a circuitous route from Siberia, have always maintained great prices in Europe, and they were now obtained of the simple Indians in endless quantities for articles of the most trifling value. The return to the capital invested in the trade was no less than six to one.

The French maintained themselves longer in the icy peninsula of Labrador, which bounds the mouth of the St. Lawrence at its north side. Labrador is habitable to none but the native Esquimaux; but with them the French carried on profitable trade in ironware and woolen clothing. Labrador passed with the rest of New France to the English by the peace of 1763. Newfoundland had come into their possession at the same time with Nova Scotia, in 1713. The French fishing station at Plaisance had always been an eyesore to the occupants of the English forts, and its cession left the English masters of the whole island. The French fishermen, however, were still allowed to ply their trade north of Cape Bonavista, and to occupy the shore for the purpose of curing their fish. The French now concentrated themselves on Cape Breton Island, the first of their possessions in the Gulf of the St. Law-

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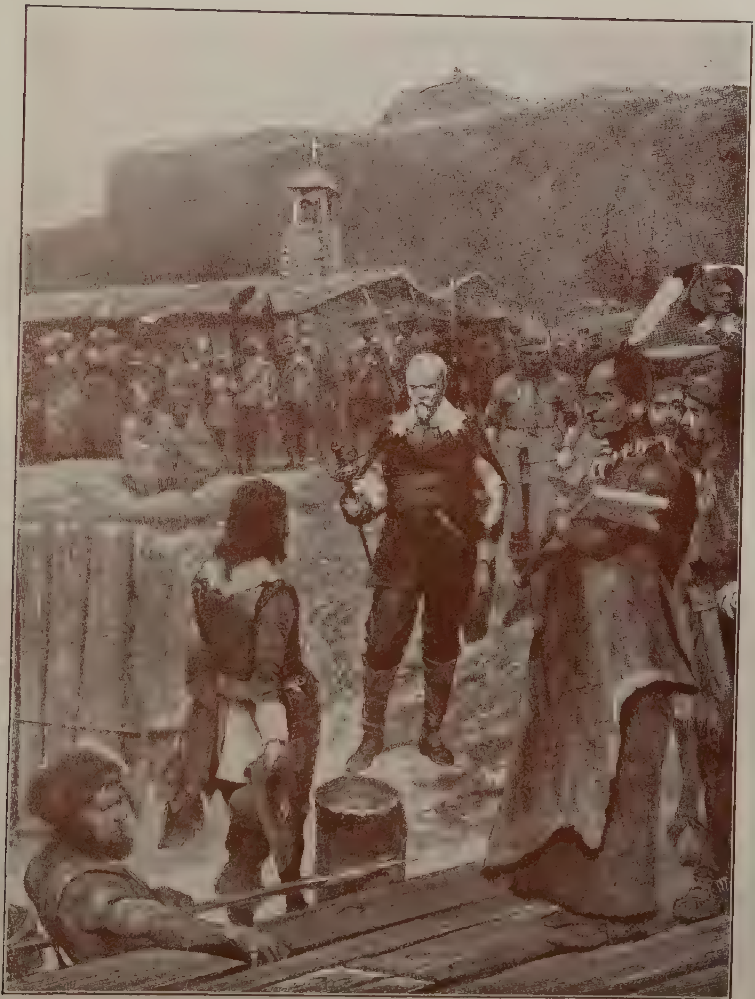
[2] The best estimate of the population of these colonies about this time (1720) is as follows: Pennsylvania (1730), 69,000; Maryland (1721), 60,000; Virginia (1720), 100,000; North Carolina (1717), 10,000; South Carolina (1720), 20,000. Virginia held the first place until 1820, when it was taken by New York.—F. B. Dexter in *American Antiquity Society Proceedings* (N. S.), Vol. V, pp. 38-47.



CHAMPLAIN SURRENDERS QUEBEC TO ADMIRAL KIRKE, JULY 20, 1629

Painting by R. Caton Woodville —page 83

rence. Their industry so greatly extended their fishing trade, that at the time of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle it was far greater than that of the English, and employed 27,000 men. The produce of this vast industry found its way to the ports of Brittany and Biscay. By the peace of 1763 the English obtained Cape Breton Island and the exclusion of the French from the Bay of St. Lawrence and the coasts of Newfoundland. For twenty years the French were only allowed to touch at the small islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, on the south of Newfoundland, but in 1783 they recovered their right to fish in the Gulf of the St. Lawrence.

Between the mouths of the Orinoco and the Amazon rivers, that is, on the debatable ground between Brazil and the Central American settlements of the Spaniards, lay a large alluvial tract of country which was neglected by both. The French, Dutch, and English who passed it on every voyage to Brazil, heard marvelous stories of the gold that it contained. The story went that besides Mexico and Peru there was a third native empire with a capital called Eldorado which far exceeded them both in wealth and splendor; and it was believed that it would be found in the mountains beyond this coast, which was called Guayana by the Portuguese and the Wild Coast by the English. It was hither that Raleigh led an expedition, memorable only for its failure and the death of his son, in search of the precious metals. One of the first attempts of Dutch enterprise, in 1590, was to occupy a soil which reminded them strongly of their own; this was on the Demerara River, and now belongs to England. They afterward settled on the Essequibo and Berbice rivers; and though the French settled here as early as 1604, yet the colony of Cayenne could never be said to flourish. The English had settled at Surinam in 1634, but it was not until the impulse given to West Indian enterprise by the cessation of the Civil War and the wise policy of Cromwell, that the settlement really began to flourish. The Dutch conquered the British settlements in 1667, and held them till the Peace of Breda, when they retained them in exchange for New York. People in England were always proposing new settlements in Guiana; but the better informed always looked upon the plan as hopeless. The soil of Guiana resembles in its situation that of Holland. The surface is on a level with the sea at high water, and when the land is drained and embanked, it consolidates and sinks a foot below it. The Dutch were experienced in constructing the dykes and sluices, and other works necessary to improve such a soil. These works have to be kept carefully in repair; but once constructed, the labor of cultivation is light, and the expense is but a fraction of that necessary in the West Indies. The Guianas have never flourished as plantations until they have been cultivated on the Dutch system; but when this has been done, they have proved more productive than even the West India Islands. They soon produced sugar, cotton, indigo, coffee, tobacco, spices, drugs, and valuable woods. The Dutch planters have always been in advance of the French. The latter committed the error of occupying the less fertile slopes of the highlands, instead of imitating the Dutch in the profitable labor of drainage and embankment.

France was at this time far ahead of England in the skill and foresight with which her foreign and domestic affairs were managed. Except Cromwell, England had no statesman, like Colbert, able to comprehend the situation of the country with respect to its colonies, and to see the advantages derivable from their careful regulation. The West India plantations of France had been founded by private enterprise, and remained the property of individuals. They passed through the hands of various owners, and the greater part of them were at one time in the possession of the Knights of Malta; but in 1664 Colbert had purchased all of them from their owners, and handed them over to a West India Company. This was, however, abolished ten years afterward, and the French plantations again became private property. All the possessions of France in America were on the same footing. The trade of the colonies was, of course, restricted to French ships; but, unlike the Spanish and Portuguese system, strangers were not obstructed from visiting the colonies and settling there. There was no special board for their administration. They were governed by the Minister of the Marine, and their internal administration was divided between a governor and an intendant. The earlier half of the eighteenth century was the flourishing period of the French colonies. The French had by this time almost gained all the West African trade, except that in slaves, and they had greatly encroached upon the English in this; they were encroaching upon the Dutch and Spaniards in Guiana; in North America they were pursuing the plan of Louis XIV. for hemming in the English by a chain of settlements extending from the mouth of the Mississippi to Canada; they had strongly fortified Cape Breton Island; the growth of Louisiana had begun to encroach upon Mexico and Florida. Neither England nor Spain took much notice of this extension of the French colonies, which was the result of the steady policy of the French Government.

Until the time of Charles II., the Government took no official notice of the colonies. Cromwell had passed the famous law which limited their trade, but until 1666 they were free from Government control. In that year a Committee of Privy Council, called the Committee of Trade and Plantations, was appointed to regulate them; in 1681 the duties of this body had become so important that they were discharged by the whole Council sitting as a committee, and in 1696 they were transferred to a permanent body called the Board of Trade and Plantations, constituted under the direction of the Whig politicians, Somers and Locke. Until this time jobbers and capitalists had not despaired of gaining the trade of the colonies for a privileged company. The Stuarts hated the colonies and their inhabitants, and they would have been very glad to raise money by selling the commerce of the colonies to the highest bidder. Charles II. laid heavy duties on their produce, and James II., under French influence, permanently crippled the English sugar trade by loading it with a heavy duty. William III. was not able to abolish this, but he secured the colonies that measure of liberty and prosperity which they continued to enjoy until the time of George III. With some intervals, the British Empire was governed by the Whigs for three-quarters of a century after the Revolution, and during these years the colonies grew and prospered, though in different degrees. Whig principles were diffused throughout most of them, especially in New England; but elsewhere the relics of the old Cavalier settlers, together with the natural opposition which is always generated in free states, and the influence of the permanent government officials, most of whom were sent out from England, formed a contrary element of a Tory or Royalist character. The colonies were closely connected by means of their trade with great seaports such as London and Bristol; in these cities the Whig party was always in the ascendant, so that trade and the colonies were always mixed up in the English mind, and constituted an interest hostile to that of the Tory or country party, who wished to see England a nation balanced on its own foundations, and independent of all connections beyond the seas. The Tories and landed gentry were jealous of the wealth which the merchants and planters drew from this new source; and they foresaw the time when this wealth, together with that derived from the home industries which the colonial demand stimulated and fostered, would rival their own, and when legislation would have as its first object the promotion of industrial wealth and prosperity. This connection of the colonies with the Whig party began to fail after the great war of 1756, and after the Independence of America it disappeared altogether. During these three-quarters of a century we see the old colony system at its height; but its success was so great that it had far outgrown the ideas even of Cromwell and William of Orange. When the produce of a single settlement equaled the revenue of a kingdom, and the greater part of this produce went to the account of profit, it became impossible to regulate the colonies through official channels, and a slight hitch in the administration would obviously lead to a breach of the old connection. This is what actually happened under the unfortunate administrations of the early years of King George III.

Chapter VI

THE MISSIONS. 1500-1775

THE story of the general dealings of the Europeans with the natives whom they found established in America is one which cannot be read without shame. During fifty years the Spaniards uniformly conquered and enslaved them; put them to forced labor to which they were physically unequal; and mercilessly repressed all resistance;[1] but the chief cause of the decline in native population was doubtless the same that has produced like results whenever and wherever primitive and civilized men have met in close contact. Thus in Hayti the number of natives sank from 200,000 or 300,000 at the time of the discovery to 200 fifty years later. To supply this waste, the Spanish colonists kidnaped the inhabitants of the neighboring islands, especially of the Bahamas. Jamaica, which the Spanish historians declare to have been conquered without any shedding of blood, contained not a single native when the English captured it. The conquest of Mexico by Cortez, according to Las Casas, cost 4,000,000 of lives. The same process went on everywhere, and at the hands of every European nation. In North America attempts were made, from time to time, to convert and civilize the Indians, but they had only a temporary success. The French and English found them sometimes useful as irregular troops, and even encouraged them in their condition of savagery. They took their lands, as they were wanted, without scruple, and nation after nation of the poor natives dwindled away and perished. It has been the same all over the world; in South Africa and Australia, as in America, it has been found easier to exterminate the natives than to civilize them.

The natives of Brazil were spared the cruelties which attended the conquest of Spanish America. The few felons who were first cast upon the shores of the new colony were too weak to harm them; and the Jews, who established the first sugar plantations, were glad to treat them well, so as to induce them to labor for them. Together with the first governor of Brazil there arrived in 1549 Emmanuel de Nobrega, a Jesuit of high repute, at the head of a number of the order, who at once made great progress in converting the natives. Their task resembled that of the present missionaries in the Pacific Islands; they baptized them, stopped their feuds and cannibalism, induced them to come to church, taught them to sing in Portuguese, and to be content with one wife. Da Costa, the second governor, built a large college for the Jesuits, and they rapidly extended their missions along the banks of the great Brazilian rivers. But here, as in Europe, and in Spanish America, these successes excited the jealousy of the clergy in the towns.

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[1] The estimate of Las Casas, that in these years 40,000,000 native Americans perished by violence, is a gross exaggeration. The fiery zeal of this humanitarian reformer was not according to knowledge and his statistics are not trustworthy.

The Italian explorer, Sebastian Cabot, finding the English little inclined for settling in America, entered the Spanish service. In 1526 he sailed round the coast of Brazil as far as the mouth of the great Plata or Silver River, where he built a fort, which was soon destroyed by the natives. The colony of Buenos Ayres, planted in 1535, fared little better. The object of the Spaniards here, as elsewhere, was to secure a supply of the precious metals, with which the country was supposed to abound. In this, of course, they were deceived; their supplies failed them from home; Buenos Ayres was abandoned, and they sailed up the river to a more productive country, where they built the town of Assumption. Here they flourished better; they were strengthened by new arrivals from Europe, and they established friendly relations with the Indians. In 1580 they were able to reoccupy Buenos Ayres, which had been deserted forty years. This country, rich in metals and in all animal and vegetable products, and approached by the finest navigable river in the world, was already thickly peopled. It was in the possession of many wild tribes of Indians, of whom the most intractable were the Chiquitos and Guaranis, on the upper part of the river. The Jesuits had made great progress in civilizing the savages of Brazil, and when Spain took possession, in 1580, of the colonies of Portugal, the fathers undertook to spread Christianity and civilization on the Plata River. The Spanish Government, to do it justice, was thoroughly ashamed of the cruelties by which the conquest of America had been attended; and it readily granted what the fathers proposed. The chief scene of their labors was what is now the Republic of Paraguay, where they founded and maintained, during 150 years, a government quite unique in the history of the world; but their missions extended to every part of the American continent. The Jesuit missions were imitated by the Franciscans and Dominicans, but neither of these orders rivaled them either in the extent or success of the work they undertook.

The Jesuits early obtained the privilege of trading with the natives whom they visited for the support of their missions, and they had many warehouses of their own in Europe. Wherever they went, they possessed the secret of acquiring wealth, influence, and respect for their order. The early Jesuits were certainly the cleverest men of their time. They were at once ecclesiastics and men of the world; they partook of the advantages of all the corporate bodies of the age—military, ecclesiastical, and commercial; they were unencumbered by antiquated notions, and their missions had already had great success, not only in Brazil, but on the coasts of Africa and Asia. About the time of the restoration of the colony of Buenos Ayres they began to visit the Plata River. In 1608, when New England and New France were settled, and the West Indies were becoming known to the future planters, they undertook to reduce the savage and warlike inhabitants of the Plata River to civilization. The vices and cruelties of the Europeans had retarded their efforts elsewhere; and their first care was to isolate the scene of their labors. As soon as their efforts had begun, they obtained a concession from the King of Spain to the effect that, in return for the yearly payment of a dollar a head for each Indian under their government, no intruders should be permitted. This policy was directed against the bishops as much as against lay landowners; and it is certain that, whereas the Church retarded the older Spanish colonies, the Christianity of the Jesuits was a great element in the new ones. They soon won the confidence of the natives, to whose superstitions, following their fixed policy, they were indulgent; tribe after tribe received their teaching; wherever they went, the lands were cultivated, homely manufactures commenced, houses, churches, and schools built. In each district the inhabitants elected a magistrate, subject to the approval of the fathers. Their agriculture and manufactures were managed by the fathers, who set each man and woman to their task, and stored up or sold the produce. The system of the missions nearly realized the notions of people who have wished for communism, where every man's labor belongs to the community, which in turn furnishes each member with the means of living. Under the fathers the Indians became happy and thriving; and the advance of their labors nearly kept pace with the demand for their teaching which its success produced. Two at a time these apostles of Europe made their way, between 1608 and 1640, over the whole of the populous land of Paraguay; and in spite of the determined opposition of the Paulists, they established themselves also on the Uruguay.

A mining colony composed of adventurers from all countries, owning allegiance to Portugal, had been formed in the extreme south of Brazil, upon which country it exercised great influence. Its center was the town of St. Paul, founded by the Jesuits, who for some time enjoyed great influence over the Paulists, as these mixed colonists were called, but they quarreled with the fathers on account of the natives, whom they kept in a state of slavery. The fathers tried in vain to protect the Indians; the Paulists made regular expeditions for enslaving them, and even exported them to the mines of Brazil, where there was a great demand for them, from the African trade being interrupted through the Dutch war. The years 1580-1640 were a flourishing period both for the Jesuits of the Plata River and for the Paulists; and when the Portuguese recovered their independence the Paulists refused to submit to them, and elected a king from among themselves. They were now a numerous and warlike community, and the Jesuits had reason to fear the destruction of their power. These circumstances gave the final character to the government of the Jesuits. To protect themselves against the Paulists, they now fortified their frontiers and supplied themselves with firearms, artillery, and military stores. Few things prove the genius of the Jesuits more completely than the military superiority they attained over the Spanish and Portuguese. The missions were completely formed into a theocratic state; the fathers were the generals, merchants, and magistrates, and the Indians stood to them very much in the relation of serfs, who tilled the lands, and in return for the surplus produce were supplied with food and clothing. Danger pressed on them from more than one side. The authorities of the church were always ready to attack the Jesuits. In 1649 they were forced to take up arms against their bishop. The Spaniards of Buenos Ayres would not help them; the Portuguese threatened them from Brazil; hostile tribes made war upon them, and they were often obliged to retrace the advances which they had made. But they held their ground, although the Paulists burned their great college and put the principal to death; and when the Paulists in the end submitted to the government of Lisbon, they assisted the efforts of Spain to get possession of St. Sacrament on the opposite side of the Plata River from Buenos Ayres. The Banda Oriental was claimed by both nations; and the Portuguese, who held it, claimed in virtue of the possession of the coast the interior of the country occupied by the Jesuits, and some went so far as to contend that the mines of Potosi themselves belonged of right to them. By way of repulsing their pretensions, the governor of Buenos Ayres was ordered to drive the Portuguese from St. Sacrament, which he effected in 1680, by the aid of 3000 Indians who had been trained to arms by the Jesuits of Paraguay. The governor of Rio Janeiro, knowing nothing of the military force which the Spaniards commanded, neglected to send reinforcements, and the troops of the Jesuits achieved a complete success, though against regular European troops and artillery. This affair greatly raised them in the eyes of the Spanish Government. The town of Buenos Ayres now wished to have a colony of these defenders established in its vicinity, but this the Jesuits refused. They fought the battles of the King of Spain in time of need, because this was part of their bargain; but it was no part of their plan to furnish other parts of the colony with standing garrisons. But when, twenty years afterward, the Portuguese again threatened the Plata settlements, the Jesuits brought down their army to protect Buenos Ayres. St. Sacrament was occupied afresh by the Portuguese in 1703; they allied themselves with the unconverted Indians, whom they trained and furnished with firearms. The Jesuits again worsted them in the field, and took St. Sacrament a second time, in 1705. The valor and coolness of soldiers commanded by a priest with nothing in his hand but a prayer-book, astonished Spaniards and Portuguese alike. St. Sacrament was again taken by the Spaniards in 1762, but it was restored in the following year.

The years 1740-1750 may be taken to be those during which the power of the Jesuits in Paraguay was at its height. Their missions included at this time 300,000 families, and they could put into the field as many as 60,000 well-armed and trained soldiers. The missions at this time seem to have presented the same kind of happy half civilization which is now seen among the Sandwich Islanders. As wealth was not allowed to accumulate, no excessive labor was necessary. The Indians were beginning to cultivate a natural taste both for the fine and the useful arts; and numerous musicians, painters, and handicraftsmen of all sorts had settled among them from Germany and Italy. The peace, contentment, and obedience of their settlements contrasted advantageously with those of the Spanish colonies in their vicinity. Their churches were large, and richly adorned, even by comparison with the wealthy foundations of Brazil and Peru. They had a code of laws at once humane and effectual; there was no capital punishment; and the system of penalties was reinforced by a system of rewards. In a state of things presenting so strange a contrast to all around, it is not wonderful that the Jesuits should be anxious to avert the possibility of change or degeneration. With this view all intercourse with strangers was rigorously interdicted. If anyone arrived in the territory of the missions, he was treated for a day or two with a certain degree of hospitality. He was escorted by the fathers from one mission to another, until he was out of the country, and never suffered to hold communication with the natives. When the latter were taken out of Paraguay on military service, they were never allowed to mix with their neighbors, and returned to their country as unsophisticated as when they left it. No European language was communicated to the Indians. The fathers selected a particular dialect of the Indian tongue which they endeavored to make the universal language of the missions; and in this language all their affairs were transacted.

Wherever the Portuguese vessels had sailed, the Jesuits had gone with them. They gained a settlement in Japan, at the establishment of commercial relations between that country and Portugal; and they are said to have numbered at one time not less than 400,000 converts to Christianity among the Japanese. However this may be, they were wealthy and powerful; their political power indeed was great enough to excite the alarm of the established government. Their pretensions to the estates of a rich convert were made the pretext for a general persecution; and as they were strong enough to interpose an effectual resistance, the Japanese raised a crusade against them. After a great battle of two days' duration, the Christians were defeated; the persecution ran its course unchecked; and by 1649 every trace of Christianity had disappeared from Japan. In China they were for a while more fortunate. Their scientific attainments were here fully appreciated; they were made mandarins of the first class, and even when in 1722 their churches were destroyed, and they were forbidden to make further conversions, their reputation as practical mathematicians and almanac-makers, as well as their great property, rescued them from molestation until the abolition of the order. Xavier's college at Goa was the center of their operations in India; and the famous Inquisition of that town, which destroyed so many wealthy Hindoos and appropriated their riches, was mainly under their direction. In 1624 their missions had spread up the Ganges as far as the borders of Thibet. But the Jesuits, like all Christian missionaries, had far more success among the wild nations of the West than when competing with the ancient religious systems of the civilized East. In 1625 they established a mission in Canada which preached Christianity through the Indian tribes of the interior. In the sixteenth century, before they commenced their great independent establishment on the Plata River, they had converted vast numbers of the Indians in Peru. Their missions gradually extended on both sides of the great Amazon River, which connects the two countries. They also made great efforts to convert the Indians of New Mexico. The conquest of Chile was very much due to the success of their preaching among the Araucanians. Thus we see that the work which began in violent and cruel conquests was gradually advanced on all sides by peaceful conversions.

The same state which afforded the Jesuits the opportunity of their development commenced their ruin. The Portuguese statesman, Pombal, the ablest and boldest minister of his age, noticed with jealousy and apprehension their growing wealth and power; and with the view of depriving them of the commerce of the Amazon River he made a law forbidding commerce of any kind to the clergy. Shortly afterward he made another, making it illegal for the Order of Jesuits to hold slaves. These laws pressed only on the Jesuits of Brazil; but in 1750 he surrendered to Spain all the claims of Portugal upon St. Sacrament, and took in exchange a portion of the mission district of the Uruguay. The Jesuits vainly opposed to this proposition all the influence they could command at the courts of Lisbon and Madrid; and in the end they resisted by force of arms the demand made on them by Pombal for the evacuation of their colonies. They were defeated; and the issue foreshadowed the time, now close at hand, when the order succumbed all over the world to political causes. The genius of the Jesuits was opposed to the strong spirit of political reform which from the middle of the eighteenth century spread all over Europe, and naturally extended to the American colonies. Their resistance had excited the suspicion of Pombal. A trial in France relating to the commercial transactions of the order in Martinique produced a scrutiny of their books and constitutions, which were pronounced to be so dangerous that it was necessary to suppress them in that country. Shortly after this the King of Portugal was assassinated; suspicion was thrown on the Jesuits, especially on Father Malagrida, and they were summarily expelled from that country and from Brazil. In 1767 they were expelled from Spain and Naples. Finally, pressure was put on the Pope, and their order was dissolved in 1773. The effect of their proscription upon Paraguay was disastrous. In 1768 possession of their settlements was taken by the bitter enemies of the founders, the officials of the government of Buenos Ayres. The Indians of Paraguay, parceled out into new provinces, rapidly fell into the same condition of revolt and barbarism which marked their neighbors, and from which the missionary fathers had raised them. The friars of other religious orders, who succeeded the Jesuits as pastors, ill supplied their place. The natives had no political organization of their own; and it seemed as if all traces of the Jesuit government were blotted out. But in the end, as we shall shortly see, the Jesuit system was revived in lay hands, and the peculiar despotism and seclusion which marked the rise of the state of Paraguay characterized it until our own times.

Chapter VII

THE MIDDLE PERIOD IN COLONIAL HISTORY

1600-1750

THE middle period of colonial history, including the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth, is marked by a great development of the American colonies, while the European settlements in the East did not much increase either in number or importance. In America several new European nations were gradually formed; while in the East there was nothing of the kind, as the settlements were mostly in the hands of commercial companies, whose officers always returned to Europe, while those Europeans who remained in the East became mixed with the natives. But the same system of administration was applied to both; the same soldiers fought to defend the colonies of both hemispheres, and the same merchants often competed for their trade. The settlements of the French and English in North America were at first only trading stations, and as the American colonies increased in extent and population, their trade with Europe greatly increased in importance. Trade, navigation, and colonization were still as much mixed up as ever. The nation that had most colonies had most ships; that which had most ships had most trade and most sailors; that which had most trade had most capital; and that which had most capital, most sailors, and most ships, was mistress of the ocean, which had now become the highway of the world's wealth. Thus we see that the colonies had destroyed the old balance of power in Europe. The Empire had long lost the leading position. The states about the Mediterranean fell into a lethargy, and all the enterprise that was left in continental Europe passed into the service of some one of the colonial powers. When the hour of Spain was over, the Dutch held the first place (1600-1650); the policy of Cromwell enabled the English to compete with them (1650-1688); and after the English Revolution of 1688 the Dutch and English were united to check the pretensions of France. The interests of Europe in its colonies became stronger every year, and a complicated colonial system was formed, which stretched over every quarter of the globe.

Perhaps the nearest parallel to the colony system as it was during this period is to be found in the early times of the Roman Empire. The states of Greece never ruled over their colonies in Asia, in Italy, or in Sicily. Though respect and affection were kept up, more or less, on either side, they never went beyond a feeling of alliance caused by community of blood and language, and the sense of the same destiny toward the rest of the world. But the conquests of Rome were treated something like the American colonies of Spain. In Greece a state which had founded a colony made no pretense to reign over it, nor did it claim that the policy and internal economy of the colony ought to be directed by the interests of the parent country, so as to lead to the exclusion of other nations from its soil, and of their commodities from its markets.

Such was the theory maintained and quietly acquiesced in, all over the New World. The system seemed so well established that people not merely were ignorant of its impending collapse, but doubted of the success of any attempt to overturn it, and the nations of Europe have clung to what is left of it with extraordinary obstinacy. We may describe the colonial system in few words by saying that under it the settlements of Europeans abroad were held to be not nations, but proprietary domains, or farms, worked for the benefit of the mother-country. A similar maxim was in use among the politicians of the old Roman Empire. Just as a great landlord might have several estates in different counties, or even countries, so a nation was understood to people its several colonies in different parts of the world. They might be large, or small; a continent, or an island; inhabited by natives, by settlers, or by a mixed race; one and all were estates of the mother-country, farmed for its benefit. The mother-country laid them all down on its charts, and it concerted schemes for their defense and extension. Of some it made strongholds to protect the rest, and whenever war was declared, the colonial ships became privateers, and harassed the trade of the enemy. In this way France used the island of Mauritius and Bourbon as outposts of India, and St. Lucie and Martinique were chiefly forts for the defense of the more productive colonies of Santo Domingo and Guadaloupe. Among the English islands Antigua and Barbados fulfilled the same function. The mother-country, taking post upon these military centers, sought to extend its borders. It conquered where it could, and bought, sold, or exchanged elsewhere, as was deemed most for its profit. Colonies were valued mainly according to the profit derived from each. To import their produce cheaply, and to encourage them to a large consumption of home manufactures, were among the first cares of European politicians; and they secured to the mother-country the full benefit of this profitable relation by excluding all other countries from participating in it. Thus, England prevented the New Englanders at once from manufacturing cotton for themselves and from importing the manufactured cotton of France.

Those nations which had possessions of their own beyond sea, or a trade with those of other nations, quickly advanced in wealth and in influence at home. Sir Walter Raleigh showed the English that the wealth and power of Spain rested entirely on her colonial possessions, and that of Holland on her commercial activity; and during the years that followed all the seagoing nations aimed, as we have seen, at having possessions abroad, and at keeping the trade with these in their own hands. First Holland, and then England, became greatly enriched, the former mainly through the trade of the East India Islands, the latter through that of the West Indies, and a social progress began which soon left the old states of Continental Europe far behind. We may trace this even in the outward aspect of the European towns. Most of the old towns of Germany and Italy, for instance, seem to have changed very little between the fifteenth or sixteenth century and the beginning of the present one; but in Holland and England, and in the commercial towns of France and Spain, we can see that wealth was continually pouring into the country. The lesser maritime nations were also drawn into the stream of commerce. A Danish East India Company was formed in 1618, and the settlement of Tranquebar was obtained. The Company failed; but another was formed, which lasted until 1729. The Swedish East India Company, though it had no settlement of its own, was more successful than the Danish. Its chief trade was with China. In 1638 a Swedish settlement was formed on the banks of the Delaware in North America, but the Dutch conquered it in 1656. Denmark and Sweden took but little share in colonization, but they did not remain so entirely out of the field as the feudal powers of Germany and Russia. It was the rise of England and Holland which induced Peter the Great to try to raise his country to the level of the times; and thus we see that the colonies and their trade are connected with the growth of the great power which overshadows Asia from the north. Russia soon traded to China by means of a mercantile company, and later on she acquired a large tract in North America for carrying on the fur trade.

The system of commercial companies grew naturally out of the establishment of commercial relations between the hostile and jealous governments of mediæval Europe. War and commerce are only two means of gaining the same end, and a state of commerce generally succeeds a state of war. When one government had gained from another advantageous terms of trade, it was always tempted to anticipate the benefit by bargaining away its right to a body of adventurers, who were always far readier than private individuals to pay a good sum for commercial privileges, as well as better able to pay the expenses and stand the risk which attended them. These were held to be so great that nothing short of a total monopoly was sufficient to recompense them. A great change was coming about in the social aspect of commerce. Sir Walter Raleigh, who first projected the colonization of America, had a monopoly of wine in England; and such men had much to do with the getting up of companies. However beneficial these companies may have been in the beginnings of colonies, there can be no doubt that they stunted their growth by depriving the European consumer of the advantages of competition. Nor was the system itself calculated to last very long. Out of fifty-eight exclusive companies, forty-six failed completely, and eight were suppressed or surrendered their charters. The English East India Company was in the middle of the eighteenth century the only example of brilliant success; the Dutch Company was in its decline; the Spanish Philippine Company was in a condition of doubtful prosperity, and the numerous companies with which France had embarrassed the rise of Canada, of Louisiana, and of Santo Domingo had all been signal failures. The companies of Denmark, and those of the ports of Emden and Ostend, had the same fate. And Portugal, which never allowed any society of traders to interfere between its government and its colonies, until 1756, when Pombal, seduced by French examples, established one for Brazil, was an example of a nation vastly enriched by its colonies without the aid of exclusive companies. The abolition of the companies of St. Domingo, in 1722, was for France the beginning of a blaze of colonial prosperity which astonished Europe. By the time when the system of completely subjecting each set of colonies, commercially and politically, to the mother-country was at its height, the system of exclusive companies was far advanced in its decline.

The most conspicuous example of the failure of a great commercial company was one formed in England in the time of Queen Anne to carry on a trade with the South Sea countries, that is, with Spanish America in general and the Pacific Islands. The great expectations formed of this company were artfully fostered by its promoters, and its shares at one time rose to eight times their original value. But it proved the ruin of everyone who trusted in it, for it never had any trade worth mentioning. The best of the trades with New Spain was thought to be the slave trade; and the English deprived the French company of the contract under which this was carried on, called the "Assiento," and put it in the hands of the South Sea Company; but this trade produced no great returns. For some years this company sent an annual ship for general trade to New Spain, and they engaged largely in the whale-fishery; but they lost by everything, and in the end they ceased to trade altogether, and the capital of the company was converted into annuity stock.

Of all colonial systems the Spanish was the most grotesque and antiquated. It limited the trade of America not only to its own subjects, but to a single place in its territory. Seville was at first the only port of embarcation for the Indies; but the inconveniences of its situation caused the privilege to be extended to Cadiz. Spain only saw too late that by opening all her ports to the American trade she might effectually profit by her colonial possessions. Her original system was obstinately adhered to for two hundred years, the consequence being that she was in the end weakened rather than strengthened by her American possessions, that her colony trade was comparatively the smallest and least remunerative in Europe, and that she chiefly fulfilled the function of bringing silver to Europe for the use of the traders of other nations. The monopoly of Cadiz and Seville was abolished in 1778, and by ten years afterward her importations from America were increased more than tenfold. But in the meantime, a comparatively free system in the English colonies had raised up a vast nation by her side;

Florida was added to English America in 1763; and it was not difficult to foresee the annexation of New Mexico, New Navarre, and California. Spanish America presented a group of nations widely scattered and greatly differing in their composition. In Mexico, and still more in Peru, the natives were far more numerous than the Europeans, and the traditions of the cruel conquest which subjected them to their European masters subsisted still unsoftened. The Peruvians had never been thoroughly subdued; and strangely enough they were allowed to keep an annual festival which revived the memory of their independence. The Spanish grandees seldom lived far away from the town, as in Central America they seldom lived far from the seashore or the banks of the gold-bearing rivers, and the natives lived alone and unmolested, provided that they paid their tax regularly. In Central America, Chile, and the Plata River settlements, they were mixed with a larger proportion of Europeans; but everywhere an odious distinction was maintained between the Creoles, or Americans born, whether of pure or mixed race, and the officials sent out by the Spanish Government. In this way the elements of a future struggle for independence had long been preparing. The only political change in two hundred years consisted in an increase in the number of viceroyalties. Spanish America had been originally divided into those of Mexico and Peru; but in 1739 Terra Firma, as the southern continent north of Guiana was called by the navigators who first discovered it, together with the north Peruvian province of Quito, were erected into a separate viceroyalty by the name of New Grenada. After the abolition of the Jesuit government in Paraguay and California, these parts were provided for by the establishment of a fourth viceroyalty of the Plata River in 1176, and by sending a separate governor, but without the rank and state of a viceroy, to New Mexico. The maxims of the colony system were rigorously carried out. The Peruvians were not allowed to cultivate the olive and the vine, that the oil and wine of Spain might have a wider market; pepper was prohibited in Porto Rico, and hemp and flax were exterminated in Chile. The expulsion of the Moriscoes or Christianized Moors from Spain in 1611 began the ruin of the real prosperity of Spain. A million of the most industrious of the inhabitants were driven into exile; and Spain, so far as regarded her colony trade, became merely the factor of other nations. As Spain declined in Europe her insular possessions fell into the hands of her rivals, and her inability to defend even those on the mainland against other powers became clear. Anson had, during the War of the Austrian Succession, proved the feasibility of an English conquest of Peru. Portugal, with all that belonged to it, was by this time regarded as a mere dependency of England; and there was a general belief that England would in the end absorb all America. The English were thoroughly exasperated with the Spaniards; many of the mercantile party wished to see the attempt made, and the jealousies and threats of France sometimes drove England in the direction of making it. But a better alternative has been found; though if we substitute for England the English political system, we shall see in the end that the common forecast was not very wide of the mark.

Brazil and the English colonies alike profited by the neglect of the mother countries. Brazil, though the richest, most extensive, and most promising of all the European settlements, had advanced but slowly, in comparison with the English colonies, since the Dutch evacuated it in 1654. The abundant supply of provisions yielded by the missions stimulated the plantations; and by the end of the seventeenth century the exports of sugar and tobacco were greater than ever. The discovery of gold in the south gave a great impulse to the prosperity of Brazil, and raised into importance the port of Rio Janeiro, which became the residence of the viceroy, and the place where the gold was collected and coined. The governor, appointed for five years, was usually a soldier of some repute. His chief business was to keep the Europeans and natives in order, and to protect the coast against invasion, and his post was often a stepping-stone to that of Viceroy of India. About 1685 the Portuguese Government first began to think of systematically improving their rich colony. One of the most remarkable of the governors of Brazil was John of Lancaster (1694-1702). He was said to be of royal English descent; he improved the revenues, built several new towns, and reduced the Maroon state of Palmares, which must have numbered 20,000 inhabitants. It was in his time that the gold of the south was discovered, and it was by him that the province of Minas Geraes was organized. The Portuguese allowed the mestizos, or half-breeds, to hold lands in their new townships. In 1710 the colony of Recif was founded. The municipal rights which it obtained were thought to be an encroachment on the privileges of Pernambuco. The inhabitants of that town rose in arms and besieged Recif; and the insurrection was only quelled with the aid of a fleet from Europe. The Methuen treaty (1703) placed Portugal completely on the side of England, and in the War of the Spanish Succession two expeditions (1710, 1711) were dispatched by Louis XIV. to attack Brazil. The first was unsuccessful, but in the next Rio Janeiro was taken, and the French carried off a rich booty. In 1728 diamonds were discovered, and as all these treasures were imported into Portugal under the protection of England and her allies, the mother-country, unlike Spain, reaped the full benefit of them. The years which followed were marked by a great extension of mines, missions, and settlements, and in 1750 the boundaries of the Spanish and Portuguese possessions were settled by a treaty. The numerous insurrections of the blacks and Indians prove the cruelty which accompanied the rise of Brazilian prosperity. The success of the struggle for independence in English America probably encouraged the insurrection of Minas Geraes which broke out in 1789. It was secretly favored by the merchants of Rio; but the government suppressed it without much difficulty, and the leader, a cavalry officer named Xavier, was executed at Villa Rica. But it was impossible to control the desire for independence, and fortunately opportunities were successively afforded for gaining it in a more peaceful way than happened in Spanish America. On the occasion of the terrible earthquake of Lisbon in 1755, Pombal nearly executed the project of bodily transferring the court and government of Portugal to its great dependency. He anticipated actual events by only sixty years.

French America was quickly eclipsed in importance by New England. For many years neither Acadia nor Quebec were more than a few temporary settlements made by fishermen and traders, with some forts for their protection, and backed, in the case of Canada, by half-cultivated tracts of land in the hands of poor seigneurs and their peasants, living in ignorance and isolation from the rest of the world. The Jesuits were hard at work among the Indians; but under Richelieu's company the colony made no perceptible advance. In 1662 the company resigned its charter; the colony was thenceforth placed under a governor and council nominated by the king; and it began to increase and prosper. About 1685 the French settlers began to encroach on New England; and before the end of the century the Canadians had made a settlement at the mouth of the Mississippi. By the Peace of Utrecht, Acadia, with its 16,000 French inhabitants, was ceded to England; but the efforts of the French to occupy the Ohio and Mississippi seemed to be only the more determined. The War of the Austrian Succession was marked in America by the capture of Louisburg (1745); but it was restored at the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. During these years the English colonies were greatly increasing; and the French, foreseeing the struggle which was impending, took measures for defending the frontier of the Great Lakes. They strengthened the fortifications of Niagara, they built large vessels on Lake Ontario, and they organized the Canadian militia. This national rivalry between the north and south sides of the great American lakes has subsisted unchanged until our own times. During this period the inhabitants of New France became a nation, as they fondly termed themselves, *La Nation Canadienne.* A native of Canada was called a *habitant,* and nowhere in the New World has so intense a national feeling been developed. It has extended to the English settlements in Upper Canada, though here, of course, it has a different foundation.

The growth of the English colonies between the Revolution of 1688, which secured them a degree of liberty enjoyed by those of no other nation, and the disputes which led to independence (1767-1775) has no parallel in history. These colonies differed much in their forms of government. The charter governments, such as the New England States, in which the governor was chosen annually by popular election,[1] and the proprietary governments of Pennsylvania and Maryland, had no dependence on the executive government of England, and they transacted their business with it through agents of their own, resident in England. The Crown colonies were St. John's, Newfoundland, including the island of that name, and the continent between the River St. John and Hudson Straits; Nova Scotia; New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia and the Bahamas, important only through the little settlement of New Providence. Florida fell to England in the peace of 1763, but was restored to Spain by the Treaty of Paris in 1783. The influence of the growth of the colonies on the trade and manufactures of England had been enormous. The exports to the colonies in 1775 were equal to the whole export trade of England, including the colonies, in the first year of the century; while the growth of individual settlements may be estimated by that of Pennsylvania, which in 1772 took in nearly fifty times the amount of British imports which it consumed in 1704. It was impossible that this immense increase should not greatly strain the Act of Navigation, originally only intended to gain for English ships the carrying-trade of the West Indies. This Act was, in fact, greatly relieved in some points, and not observed at all in others. We have seen how the contraband trade carried on between the English colonies and the French and Dutch sugar islands contributed to depress the sugar trade of the English West Indies. The existence of this trade was well known to the British Government, but it was not easy to decide how to deal with it. The armaments which had been sent out from England, Holland, and France against the buccaneers had proved the impossibility of suppressing by force any trade which was tolerated by the colonists themselves. The North American colonies produced far more for export than Great Britain or her islands could possibly consume, nor was Great Britain able to supply all the commercial demands of British America. Common sense would have said that the colonists should be allowed to trade with their neighbors for themselves; but this would have been to destroy the Navigation Act, which was regarded as the safeguard of English trade and navigation. The difficulty was solved by the invention of a new system of taxation. A high duty was laid on all foreign sugar, rum, and molasses imported into British colonies; while the English sugar islands were allowed to send those commodities direct to other parts of Europe. Other privileges were granted to the colonies from time to time, in exchange for other duties; and in this way the competence of the British Parliament to lay taxes upon the colonies was first recognized.

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[1] In Massachusetts, after 1692, the governor was appointed by the Crown. In Rhode Island and Connecticut he was elected by the legislature.

We have seen how Penn encouraged persons of all nations and religious persuasions to settle in America. In this he followed the example of the Dutch; and he established for North America a principle which has now been extended to the whole of it, and indeed to most of the civilized world. English America had become celebrated throughout Europe as a refuge from persecution. The advantages of the colonial life soon became apparent. Swarms of Germans and Swiss settled there, attracted by the prosperity of their kinsmen. The overflow of the peasant population of Ireland and Scotland soon regularly poured thither. In 1729 over 6000 immigrants came to Pennsylvania alone, four-fifths of whom were Irish. Two thousand Irish sailed every year from Belfast, and by 1740 this port as well as Derry had a large and regular passenger trade. New York was the favorite destination of the Irish, while the Germans of the Palatinate, Wurtemburg, and Switzerland found their way in great numbers to Philadelphia. Above twenty ships sailed for this port laden with German emigrants every year, long before the War of Independence; and thus English America drained Europe of some of its most adventurous and its hardiest elements. Labor was eagerly demanded in the new lands, and kidnapers in the pay of English and Dutch merchants spread all over Europe, persuading the poor peasantry, groaning under the last years of continental feudalism, to quit the soil to which they were bound for the land of wealth and liberty. On their arrival they were compelled to bargain themselves away for a certain number of years, usually four. Pennsylvania, where land was to be had cheapest, was the great inlet of foreigners, and as time went on the German immigrants outnumbered the English and Irish in the proportion of four to one. The latter did not, in general, thrive so well as the more frugal and industrious Germans, and sought their fortunes further south in Carolina and Georgia. The latter colony, settled on a waste part of Carolina in 1732, as an outpost against the attacks of France and Spain aided by the hostile tribes of Indians, was settled on conditions which, however laudable in themselves, threw it back in the race of progress. No negroes were permitted; the importation of rum from the West Indies was forbidden; no immigrant received more than twenty-five acres of land; and it was attempted to keep it in the family by making it inheritable only by the settler's male issue. None of these enactments worked well; they were abolished, and the colony was placed on a similar footing to South Carolina. No other country, except the Dutch colony at the Cape, affords during the eighteenth century the spectacle of thousands of agricultural laborers leaving Europe, taking possession of lands beyond sea, and cultivating them for themselves. The *boers,* or peasants, emigrated in great numbers to the Cape, where the Dutch East India Company readily granted them a certain quantity of land, though it allowed them no political privileges whatever.

Though the planters mainly relied on negro labor, the spirit of adventure, poverty and failure at home, and the system of transporting debtors and criminals, replenished the West Indies with a class of laborers who often raised themselves to be small planters and proprietors. Here too English policy permitted the establishment of such forms of government as might be suitable to each island, without any care for uniformity, or for any stricter connection with the mother-country than was already secured by the Navigation Acts. At the breaking out of the War of Independence the English West Indies were divided into four governments: 1. The Barbados; 2. The Windward Islands, which included Grenada, the Grenadines, and Tobago; 3. The Leeward Islands, including Antigua, Montserrat, Nevis, St. Christopher, Anguilla, Tortola, together with several of the adjoining Virgin group; 4. Jamaica. Each of these governments enjoyed the same degree of liberty as the royal or provincial governments of the American continent. The governor had his lieutenant governor and his council, and the people had their own assemblies, their own law-courts. They made their own statute laws, taking that of England as a basis; and this liberty of legislation often led to great confusion. In the Leeward Islands, for instance, the assembly, sitting sometimes at Nevis and sometimes at Antigua, would pass a law which affected all the islands; but it often made special laws for some one or more of them, just as the British Parliament now often makes special laws for England and for Ireland. Again, in some colonies the powers vested in the governor were very limited, and nothing of importance could be done without a certain number of his council; but the administration in these, as in other cases where personal responsibility is lessened, was not always the best. The Church of England was established in many of these islands by Acts of Assembly, as in the southern colonies of the continent; but there were no bishops. The governor presented to vacant benefices, and exercised the functions of ecclesiastical judges at home. The clergy were sometimes paid by a certain quantity of sugar, as in Virginia they received their stipends in tobacco. Each assembly government regulated the trade of its own shipping, amounting sometimes to 400 or 500 sail. It will be seen that the functions of the legislative assemblies were likely to become very extensive and complicated. In the Leeward Islands the business of the assembly became so heavy that a separate assembly was established for each of the islands of St. Christopher, Nevis, Montserrat and Antigua. The details of the government enjoyed by these small but wealthy colonies are important, because they illustrate the contrast between those of England and of other nations, and because they were afterward repeated on a greater scale in Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. The West India governments were chiefly occupied with the problem of keeping the negroes, who everywhere far outnumbered the whites, in proper order and subjection. They made countless laws for this purpose, but the negroes often broke out in rebellion, which was always cruelly suppressed. The most flourishing period of the British West Indies, though not their greatest extent and population, had been reached in the beginning of the eighteenth century. With the decline of white labor, and the exclusive use of that of negroes, their comparative produce declined. The pretense that the Antilles cannot be cultivated without negroes or coolies is refuted by plain facts. The white Creoles of Anguilla and Tortola, and the Ten Acre men of Barbados, were instances of successful cultivation by hardy and temperate persons, while numbers of white people in Carolina and Georgia have always raised both grain and rice without negro labor. A white man, with a light plow and two horses, will cultivate as much land as seven negroes with hoes. But the great planters were always jealous of their poorer neighbors, and as they were able to sell their sugar cheaper, and to speculate on a larger scale, they bought them up as fast as they could. Hence the white population daily decreased; but it is to the policy of the great planters and to the great masses of capital in their hands, rather than to the necessity for negro labor, which grew in the end to an abuse too great to be tolerated, that the decline of the islands is truly attributable. Had negroes never been introduced into these islands, probably they would have been far more prosperous, and a source of far greater wealth to the mother-country than has been the case. The French plantations first rivaled and then exceeded the prosperity of the English. The Spanish islands were in a backward condition; and the Dutch islands were chiefly trading stations.

While the settlements of England and France were fast rising into importance, the former through constant immigration, and the latter through a wise application of capital and industry, those of Holland, except Surinam, did not increase either in wealth or in extent. From 1700 to 1740 the Dutch Company were the first commercial power in the East; but though they continued to make conquests, they were not really increasing in prosperity. Some remarkable ideas were conceived by a Swiss in their employ, named John Purry. He thought that the commercial countries of Europe should not confine themselves to trading with the old nations, but that they should send out people to form permanent and self-supporting settlements. He had observed that latitudes of about thirty and forty degrees from the equator, such as those of Southern Europe, Carolina, Chile, and Rio Janeiro, were most favorable for Europeans. In 1718 he presented a memorial to the Dutch India Company, urging them to plant new colonies on the Kaffir coast beyond the Cape of Good Hope, and on that part of the coast of New Holland which is now called South Australia. Here he wished to see European settlements producing corn, fruit, wine, and oil, and carrying on a trade with India. But the Dutch were afraid for their spice trade, and Purry was expelled from the service of the company. He then carried his proposals to France, where they were referred to the Academy of Sciences. This learned body wisely refused to judge of countries which they had never seen; and Purry went to England. The English were more interested in America than in the coasts of the Indian Ocean. They sent him home to collect a number of Swiss Protestants, with whom he sailed for Carolina; and there, around Purrysburg, on the savannah which divides Carolina and Georgia, their descendants dwell to this day. Purry, like many other men whose names have perished, was a hundred years in advance of his age. The Dutch East India Company was a hundred years behind it.

Though the Portuguese remained undisturbed in the possession of their East African settlements, the recovery of their freedom came too late to admit of their keeping more than a remnant of their once vast commercial empire in the East. And after the alliance of the new Portuguese dynasty with the English, the Dutch pursued them with still greater vigor. They drove them from Cochin in 1662, and from Pegu in 1719. Goa, Daman, and Diu were their chief possessions in India; in the Spice Islands they retained only a part of the Island of Timor, and nothing in China but the port of Macao. While the vast trade of the Dutch maintained itself firmly, in spite of the weakness inherent in the system of an exclusive company, and England and France were rapidly extending their commerce, the trade of the Portuguese settlements became less and less, and declined more than ever after Pombal had established an exclusive company at Goa. The Dutch in the East had acquired Malacca, the ancient emporium of the Moorish merchants; and this, together with Batavia, made them masters of the only two known channels of navigation between Europe and the Spice Islands. They had great factories in Sumatra; Ceylon, from which they had driven the Portuguese in 1658, yielded them cinnamon, pepper, precious stones, areca nuts, ivory, and pearls; they had numerous settlements on the Coromandel coast of India, but on the Malabar coast the Portuguese, French and English had the best of the trade. Java was the center of their commercial empire. Unlike the Portuguese, they tolerated the Eastern religions; the Mohammedan sultans of this fertile island acknowledged their protection one by one, and in 1768 the prince who ruled in its eastern extremity submitted to the Dutch arms. On these native princes the Dutch Company contented themselves with levying an annual tribute of produce marketable in Europe; but they held the neighborhood of Batavia as an absolute possession. Like many conquered countries, it was deserted by its old inhabitants, and labor was scarce until a large number of Chinese and German emigrants were induced to settle there by selling them land at a low price. The Chinese had long been immigrating in vast numbers into the town of Batavia. They had prospered exceedingly by their industry and frugality, and in 1740, under pretense of a conspiracy, many of them were plundered and massacred. But they proved indispensable, both in agriculture and in manufactures; and forty years after this there were 200,000 Chinese in Batavia and its vicinity. The company exacted from them heavy capitation and other taxes; and it is said to have received no less than 15,000*l.* sterling a year for licenses to them to keep gambling-houses. The company itself no longer paid, it is true, the enormous dividends of 30 and 40 per cent. which were common in its early years; but 12½ per cent. was regularly paid when Warren Hastings was consolidating English authority on the mainland of India. The position of the company necessitated numerous petty wars and constant vigilance against the Malay pirates; they maintained too many establishments; and finally, the English and French, having discovered through Dutch experience what were the profitable and the unprofitable departments of the

East Indian trade, sought to supplant them in the former, leaving them in possession of the latter. And the sudden rise of England and France as military powers on the Indian continent caused great alarm to the company, whose military forces, though numerous, were mixed and ill-disciplined. The exploits of Clive clearly foreshadowed the time when Ceylon and the Cape Settlement must fall into the hands of the English, and they were thought to foreshadow much more; for French engineers had already planned the capture of Batavia, the greatest European settlement in the East.

The conquest to which the expedition of Columbus was intended to lead, and which had been outlined in the brilliant but transitory exploits of Albuquerque, was too great to be accomplished in a single generation, or even a single century. During 250 years several maritime powers had been feeling their way on the continent of India. Spain had been at last perpetually excluded from the Eastern trade by the Treaty of Munster in 1648, which the Dutch took care to enforce, though the Spaniards tried to set up an East India Company in 1732. The Danes, the Swedes, and the people of the Austrian Netherlands had taken part in its commerce; but the events of the eighteenth century showed that here, as in Europe, the grand rivalry lay between England and France. The dream of universal empire had passed from the house of Austria to that of France. A combination of Germany with England had defeated the effort in Europe; but it was made with better chance of success in America and the East, where England stood alone against the French arms. The merchants of Normandy and Brittany had tried, without much success, to establish a trade with India; but in 1664 Colbert founded the French East India Company, with privileges greater than those enjoyed by the Dutch Company. A settlement was obtained at Surat, the chief port of the Mogul Empire, and the richest mart of India, in 1668. The English and Dutch had factories here; but the French surpassed them in success. On the Eastern coast they soon after obtained Pondicherry. It was taken by the Dutch in 1693, but restored at the Peace of Ryswick. Here the interests of the French were watched over by a series of bold and patient administrators. Dumas obtained the liberty of coining money, and a large cession of territory, which placed in his hands all the trade of the Carnatic. He was strong enough to keep the victorious Mahrattas at bay.

In 1720 the French had taken possession of Mauritius, abandoned by the Dutch, and called it the Isle of France, and under Labourdonnais it now became a thriving colony. But it was to Dupleix, the governor of Chandernagore, in Bengal, that the chief successes of the French in India were due. Dupleix was himself a wealthy speculator; and, following his advice, the French Company, secure of the favor of the Mogul, extended their trade in all directions, from Chandernagore over the continent. They also traded on an increased scale by sea, from the Arabian Gulf to the Spice Islands, and the name of Dupleix became so famous that after twelve years at Chandernagore he was sent to Pondicherry to take the general management of the affairs of the company. Had the views of Dupleix and Labourdonnais been seconded by the French Government, it is probable that the great empire of India would never have fallen into the hands of the English. They foresaw the impending struggle, and unceasingly urged the necessity of keeping a strong squadron in the Indian seas. The court of Versailles was of another opinion; and when the war actually broke out, the English were not driven, as they might have been, from the sea, though Labourdonnais defeated them and made himself master of the English settlement of Madras. Divisions took place in the French Company: Dupleix opposed the views of Labourdonnais, who returned to Europe in disgust. The English then laid siege to Pondicherry, but the peace which followed stayed the struggle for a time. In the meantime, the advantage had hitherto been on the side of France. Dupleix, seeing the advantages which the territorial possessions of the company had procured him in the Carnatic, procured the cession of six hundred miles of coast in Orissa. Intimately acquainted with the politics of the Mogul court, he procured in 1751 the appointment of two of his allies as Subah of the Deccan, a territorial authority extending from Cape Comorin to the Ganges, and Nabob of the Carnatic. He intended to become the military lieutenant of these princes, to seize upon the Portuguese settlements on the Malabar coast, and thus to make the French masters of the whole seaboard from Goa to the Ganges. The English, however, opposed these vast pretensions by setting up an anti-Nabob in the person of Mohammed Ali Khan; and a desultory war, the centers of which were at Madras and Pondicherry, was carried on until 1755, in the name of the companies and of the native pretenders whom they favored, but openly abetted by the government of both nations in Europe. Thus we see that both in America and in India a great struggle between England and France was now impending. The Portuguese and Spaniards had fallen out of the race; the Dutch were resting on their successes; the attempts of all other nations were insignificant; England and France were each making rapid advances, and neither in the East nor in the West was there room for both side by side. England conquered in the struggle, and the way was then prepared for changes which completely destroyed the whole system of the European Colonies, and left in its place one of free nations. The steps which led to this great revolution will be described in the two succeeding chapters.

Chapter VIII

THE PERIOD OF ENGLISH SUPREMACY. 1750-1775

TWO and a half centuries had elapsed since Europe began the gradual process of colonization in countries beyond her borders, either newly discovered or newly opened to navigation, and the result had been to make the mastery of all that general European enterprise had won a great stake to be played for by the two great naval European powers. The advantage in the coming contest was everywhere on the side of France. Her settlements were richer and better fortified, and both in the east and in the west she could count on the sympathies of the native population. It was in America that the great contest was begun. The French claimed the basin of the Mississippi and its tributaries, in right of their colony of Louisiana at its mouth; and they thought the Appalachian Mountains the natural boundary of the English settlements. The English, however, would not consent to be thus excluded from a territory which has been called "the Garden of the World," and they settled there in despite of the French claims. Lines of forts were erected for the defense of the settlements of either nation. War broke out in America in 1754 and in Europe in 1756; in 1757 it was resolved by Pitt to prosecute it vigorously in America. In 1758 the English landed on Cape Breton Island; Louisburg was taken by Admiral Boscawen and General Amherst, and the key of Canada was in their hands. The next year the bold resolve was taken of sailing up the St. Lawrence and taking Quebec and Montreal, thus putting an end forever to the sanguinary struggles of which the Ohio and the Wabash had long been the theater, and relieving the English colonists from the apprehension of a hostile nation growing up in their rear. Troops had passed from Canada by the Ohio to Louisiana in 1739, and the road to the south had thus been opened. The French knew the country, and all the operations of the English in the interior had hitherto proved unsuccessful. The expedition of General Braddock in 1755 against Fort Duquesne had proved a disastrous failure. Emboldened by their success, the

French had attacked and taken the English fort of Oswego in 1756; and in August, 1757, they attacked and took Fort George, the great outpost of England, and the center of any possible operations by land against Canada. These disasters caused little anxiety to the English, who were secure in their dominion of the sea. Early in 1759 the English fleet sailed from Louisburg up the St. Lawrence. General Wolfe was in command of the Highlanders and Grenadiers which it carried. The French fought bravely point by point, but Wolfe's generalship was irresistible. In the dead of one night in September he landed all his forces under the famous Heights of Abraham, and when the French looked out from their intrenchments in the morning they saw that they must either give battle at once or retire into the town and prepare for a siege. Montcalm chose the former, and after a short and sharp engagement, in which both generals fell, the French gave way. Quebec, the strongest fortress in the world after Gibraltar, surrendered on September 18. This event, though it did not terminate the war, decided its issue. Montreal capitulated in the following year, and England was mistress of the continent of North America from Florida to Labrador.

The naval power of the English had been demonstrated in the war of 1739, but its greatest exploits were reserved for that of 1756. Pitt was the presiding genius of England, and never has Europe seen a greater war minister. His designs were proportioned to the means at hand for executing them; he chose for their execution the fittest instruments, and, in spite of occasional imprudence, he was everywhere successful. Besides Canada, Pitt directed the naval forces of England to the conquest of the French West India Islands, which were commercially the most valuable possessions of Europe. In April, 1759, Barrington took the Island of Guadeloupe; and in 1762 General Monckton and Admiral Rodney took Martinique. Grenada and the other Leeward Islands surrendered without a struggle. Santo Domingo was known to be capable of making but a feeble defense; but before its capture entered into Pitt's plans the fears and hostility of Spain had taken an active shape. Pitt declared war in 1762 against Spain, and in the same year he inflicted upon Spain the greatest humiliation she had hitherto experienced. Havana, the capital of Cuba, was attacked and taken by Pocock and Albermarle. It was the key of continental Spanish America, and the incidents of half a cen-

DEATH OF GENERAL WOLFE AFTER HIS VICTORY ON THE HEIGHTS OF ABRAHAM BEFORE QUEBEC

Painting by N. Dupray

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tury later leave no doubt that the oppressed natives and creoles would gladly have thrown themselves into the arms of England. The entire continent of America, in fact, lay at the feet of the English Government, for the advancing shadow of the great colonial power had fallen even on its western shores. England had long been engaged in reconnoitering on the Pacific, and Anson, in the War of 1739, had been actually charged with the conquest of Peru and Chile. Unforeseen disasters had checked that great sailor's attempt, but the success of a similar one in favorable circumstances was regarded as certain. To a well-appointed force, resting as on a basis on the friendly ports of Brazil, and doubling the south corner of the continent at the proper season, with the coöperation of the free natives of the south neither the Chilean nor the Peruvian coast would be capable of any effectual resistance. The capture of Havana, though it was restored at the Peace of 1763, made an indelible impression on the mind of Europe. For the Spanish American empire it was indeed the beginning of the end.

Dupleix had placed the French in possession of four extensive tracts of India, but they were too remote from each other to be defended by one plan of operations. He was besides practically master of the whole Carnatic, the most flourishing province of the Mogul Empire, and the direction of its affairs was now formally tendered to him. But the Court of Versailles saw good reason for declining this proposal; Dupleix was thought to have outstepped the bounds of prudence: he was recalled and replaced by Lally, a man unlike him in every respect. Lally was routed by Sir Eyre Coote at Wandewash, the English defeated the French squadron at sea, and Pondicherry, after enduring the horrors of famine, surrendered in 1761. Clive had already accomplished that prodigious revolution in Bengal, which placed this province in the company's hands, and the English now resolved to remove effectually all obstacles to that conquest of territory in India which the success of the policy of Dupleix had proved to be practicable. The French troops were disarmed and dispatched to Europe, and by the Definitive Treaty of 1763 France bound herself to maintain no more troops in India. England now established Mohammed Ali Khan, a creature of the company, as Nabob of Arcot. He resided at Madras, leaving the whole of his dominions to the protection of the company's arms and the administration of their officers; and in 1767 they obtained from the Subah of the Deccan a concession of immense provinces in the neighborhood of Masulipatam from which they had driven the French in 1761. Hyder Ali Khan, a soldier of fortune, who had made himself master of Mysore, vainly endeavored to dislodge them (1768); and from this time forward the English possessions have gone on gradually increasing. In the Eastern Archipelago, as if to prove to Spain that she existed henceforth as a colonial power solely by the forbearance of England, Manila, the capital of the Philippines, was taken by General Draper and Admiral Cornish in 1762, and ransomed from pillage at the price of 1,000,000*l*. This ransom was never paid.

The Treaty of 1763, made between England, France, and Spain, and known as the Definitive Treaty, left England everywhere far stronger than at the beginning of the war. North of the English colonies, Canada, with all its dependencies, including Cape Breton, the Dunkirk of North America, was ceded to England; France renounced all claim to Nova Scotia; and in the south gave up all the left bank of the Mississippi, except New Orleans. Spain surrendered Florida, and by a collateral agreement received as compensation from France New Orleans and the French territory west of the Mississippi. England was thus greatly strengthened in the neighborhood of Spanish America; but a more important advantage was secured by the possession of Dominica, Tobago, and St. Vincent, together with Grenada and the Grenadines, which were taken in exchange for St. Lucie. The possession of these islands placed the remaining French sugar islands at the mercy of the English fleet, and greatly strengthened England in the neighborhood of the Spanish mainland. It added, moreover, a great province to the English West Indies. Grenada alone is twice as large as Barbados; and the overflow of capital and population of the British islands now fell upon British soil, instead of enriching the Dutch and Danish islands. The English settlement of buccaneer origin, which for two hundred years had existed for mahogany-cutting in the Gulf of Honduras, was secured from the molestation of the Spaniards, and in a year or two British Honduras became a regular crown colony. In India the French had to renounce all their military policy; they were bound to build no fortifications and keep no troops in Bengal, and they acknowledged Mohammed Ali Khan as Nabob of the Carnatic.

The loss of Canada stimulated the French Government to new projects; and Choiseul proposed to replace it by the creation of a great colony in "Equinoctial France," as Guiana had been grandly named by Louis XIV. Little enough could have been known of the marshes of Guiana to those who proposed to send out the peasants of Alsace and Lorraine to cultivate them; but there was no lack of emigrants, all eager for wealth. Not only laborers, but tradesmen, capitalists, men of letters, civil and military officials, and even actors and fiddlers, hastened to inscribe their names for the unhappy colony of Kouron, which proved a total failure, after costing France 14,000 men and 30,000,000 francs in money. The project was revived in 1777 by the Baron de Besner, who proposed to employ on a great scale the labor of the native Indians and the Maroon negroes from Dutch Guiana; but the French, full of West Indian ideas, were unwilling to begin the unprofitable labor of draining the great alluvial flats which are the only productive parts, and fixed their plantations on the barren slopes of the mountains. Nor was it until the system of the Dutch in their thriving settlement had been studied and adopted, that French Guiana began to flourish on a small scale. Its later history has been as unfortunate as its beginnings; and it is the only colony in the world which has sunk in our own times to the condition of a penal settlement.

Holland was the only colonial nation that was not affected by the Definitive Treaty, and it was only in the East that the rivalry of England and Holland subsisted. Here indeed the Dutch were strong. From the massacre of Amboyna to the wars of the French Revolution they monopolized the spice trade; and they had a far larger share of the trade of the Indian peninsula than either the French or English. The Portuguese power in the East was now a mere shadow. There was still a viceroy, who sat under a canopy at Goa, and had under him a court of judges and several provincial generals; but all the trade of Portuguese India might now have been done by a single English ship, and the East would certainly have been abandoned if the priests had not resisted it on the ground that this would cause the loss of a multitude of souls. Pombal's company completed the ruin. The Dutch East India Company, on the contrary, was the most thriving mercantile body in the world, and it was fully as important to the nation as the English East India Company had become in England half a century later. Besides the islands of Mauritius and Ceylon, and their settlements at the Cape of Good Hope and Mocha, they had settlements at thirty places on the shores of India proper, and eastward of this the trade was theirs without competition. The company appointed magistrates, generals, and governors, it sent and received embassies, made peace and war, levied troops, fitted out fleets, administered justice, and coined money. England had ruined the colonial empire of France, and shaken to the foundation that of Spain, and it now remained to be seen whether that of Holland would bear the shock of her hostility. We shall shortly see how the question was answered.

We have not hitherto said how much of the progress of commerce and colonization is due to the steady growth of science at home. From the days of Columbus the art of navigation had steadily advanced with that of shipbuilding. The early sailors had either ill-built and unwieldy ships, which it was only safe to sail under the most favorable circumstances, or else mere cockboats; they were perpetually puzzled by the variation of the compass, and they had nothing to sail by but the plane chart, which could never be rendered accurate, because it is impossible to represent accurately the parts of a spherical surface by a flat picture. Gerard Mercator, a Netherlander, first found out how to make accurate charts about 1569; but it was long before his method was generally adopted. Other Dutchmen made advances in the science of navigation and in the construction of astronomical instruments; but the greatest improvement for many years was the application of logarithms to nautical calculations by an Englishman, Edmund Gunter, about 1620. By means of the logarithmic tables anybody who knows the first four rules of arithmetic may easily make accurate reckonings at sea, and what was formerly an intricate and difficult science was thus reduced to a simple mechanical form. Dr. Halley, a great English astronomer, constructed a chart showing the variation of the compass in all parts of the globe by means of the Halleyan or isogonic lines. This was published in 1700; and its principles were corrected about fifty years later by Euler, who showed that the earth has two magnetic poles, not coinciding with its geographical poles. The scientific societies of England and France vied with each other in these and similar researches; and we may be sure that if the attention of learned men had not been systematically directed to them navigation and commerce, which were the springs of colonization, would long have remained in a backward stage. But the chief obstacle to navigation was always the want of a good method of determining the longitude. The English Government, in the time of Queen Anne, offered 20,000*l.* for an instrument which would do this to a certain degree of accuracy; and nearly fifty years afterward this reward was won by a Yorkshireman named John Harrison, whose chronometer was, perhaps, the greatest invention in navigation since the mariner's compass. In 1767 the government began to publish the Nautical Almanac. Cook, of whom we shall shortly speak, carried Harrison's chronometer with him on his famous voyages; and it is impossible to overestimate the importance of all these matters in tracing the growth of trade and colonization.

When the war broke out in 1756 there was a young seaman engaged in the coal trade, who had raised himself from the position of a common sailor, named James Cook. Refusing promotion in the service of his shipowner, he offered himself for that of the king, distinguished himself in several ways, and took part in the siege of Louisburg. He was intrusted with important duties at the siege of Quebec, but while thus engaged he found time to study Euclid, and supply the defects of his early education. He speedily rose in rank, and as he combined in a remarkable degree great skill in seamanship and astronomy, he was dispatched to the Pacific in 1768 to conduct observations of the transit of Venus, which took place in the following year. The transit was observed from Otaheite; and on his return voyage over the Pacific he discovered and surveyed New Zealand and the eastern coast of New Holland, and made his way home by way of Batavia and the Cape, having made in one voyage greater discoveries than any navigator since Columbus. It was immediately perceived that he was qualified to pursue still more extensive discoveries. The map of the world was before these voyages only very imperfectly known. Many groups of islands had never been surveyed, and it was confidently believed that round the south pole of the globe there lay a vast continent called Terra Australis, or Southernland. This continent was thought worthy of the attention of the mistress of the colonial world. Cook was intrusted with the task of discovering and exploring it; and in 1772 the *Resolution* and the *Adventurer* left Deptford Docks on a voyage of discovery which lasted more than three years. Cook did not discover any Terra Australis, but he showed that even if it existed it could not be habitable, and that the coasts of the vast island of New Holland had been mistaken for it. The name was transferred to this great island, which Cook accurately surveyed and made known to the English; and he pointed out how advantageously it might be colonized. Cook's skill and enterprise led the way to the foundation of another important colony. We have already mentioned that dream of the European navigators, the discovery of a northwest passage to India and China. Parliament had offered a reward of 20,000*l.* for its discovery, and Cook's third voyage, which he undertook with this view, was the most memorable of all. He did not indeed discover a northwest passage any more than a Terra Australis; but he made it highly probable that no such passage existed. Previous explorers had vainly tried to find it from the east; Cook, by a bold effort of judgment, laid his plan for its discovery by the west. On this famous voyage he discovered the Sandwich Islands, and explored the hitherto unknown western coast of America, north of California, to a length of 3500 miles. He laid down accurately on his chart the approximating coast lines of Asia and America, passed the straits which divide them, and saw enough of the Arctic Sea to dispel all hopes of ever reaching the Atlantic from the Pacific, or the Pacific from the Atlantic, by the northern extremity of America. Cook was murdered by the savages of Hawaii on his return from this voyage, which opened to British enterprise the Pacific shore of Canada, Vancouver Island, and British Columbia. As America owes its fortunes to the genius and daring of Columbus, so Australia, New Zealand, the Pacific Islands, and British Columbia, owe their future to the science and adventurous spirit of Cook. Cook destroyed two great geographical illusions: he fixed forever on the map of the world the outlines of land and ocean; he at once stimulated and regulated the enterprise of those who followed in his steps. The results of his discoveries belong to future parts of colonial history, but his fame was deservedly great in his lifetime. The French never molested his vessels when at war with England, but this generous feeling was not shared by Spain and the American Colonies.[1]

The Colonial Empire of England now extended from the

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[1] "All captains and commanders of" American "armed ships" were instructed, March 10, 1779, by Benjamin Franklin, American Minister to France, to treat "that most celebrated navigator, Captain Cook," not as an enemy, but "with all civility and kindness, affording" him "all the assistance in your

Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Arctic Ocean to the Caribbean Sea. Her ships and her armies were victorious in every part of the globe. When peace was made with France and Spain, in 1763, many of the British conquests were judiciously restored. The British Empire, in truth, was larger than British statesmen could at this time conveniently manage; and the French and Spaniards, generously as most people thought that England had treated them in 1763, were scheming to retrieve their losses. New France had been conquered and added to the possessions of England, and Spain believed that her hour would come next. Choiseul, a bold and active minister, directed the policy of France, and he was intriguing with all the European powers for a grand attack on England. He encouraged Spain to refuse to pay the Manila ransom, and to set up a claim to the Falkland Islands, and England was obliged to form defensive plans on a large scale. The expense of the civil and military establishments abroad was now greatly increased. England was at this time by no means a wealthy country in proportion to the extent of her vast dominions. Her wars had involved her in a heavy public debt; her people were impatient of further taxation; but it was necessary to raise more taxes in order to defray the increased and still increasing expenditure. The government got year by year deeper in debt, and it was at last resolved that the colonies, for whose benefit these great expenses were being incurred, should contribute to it themselves. We have seen how great was the development they had reached, and it was generally understood that the comfortable circumstances of the colonists quite justified the measure. To lay heavier duties on the imports from the colonies would have been to tax England, not America; and such were the relations between the colonies and foreign nations that it was impossible to meddle with the produce either of the fisheries or of the sugar plantations. It was necessary to leave alone also the carrying trade. Direct taxation, or customs duties on imports, were the only alternative, and we shall see, shortly, the results of attempts to introduce both the one and the other. In the meantime English statesmen formed plans for such an extension of the colonies as should turn out most to the advantage of England. Not Canada, but the south, was thought to be the most promising; and a great colony, called New Wales,

power. . . . In so doing . . . there is no doubt of your obtaining the approbation of the Congress."—Franklin's Works, ed. by J. Bigelow, Vol. VI., p. 321.

was projected on the Ohio. The colonial system was now at the height of its glory. The manufacturers of England looked forward intently to the time when it would not be worth the while of the colonists even to make a shoe or knit a stocking. "Then, indeed," as one of them said, "will they thrive indeed, and Britain be happy." The duty of a colony was to work diligently at its mines, its fisheries, and its plantations. The destiny of America was to be to supply Great Britain with raw materials; and Great Britain was to be made in this respect independent of all the rest of Europe. The St. Lawrence was to send the flax, hemp, potash, and naval stores she imported from the Baltic; the Mississippi to supply her with the wine, oil, silk, drugs, and fruits for which her treasure was yearly exported to the Mediterranean. All this trade would enrich English shipowners and increase England's naval strength. The immensely increased population of the colonies, and the spirit with which they took up the war with France in America, gave hopes that they would one day greatly contribute to her military strength at home. So rooted were these ideas that long after the Americans had begun to resist taxation from home, it was believed that even if they achieved their independence they would soon perceive their mistake, and voluntarily throw themselves at the feet of Great Britain.

The truth, however, was, that while the colonies were attaining the height of their prosperity, and reflecting this prosperity upon their mother-countries, the colonial system itself was tottering to its fall. The home governments stubbornly shut their eyes to the fact that many of the settlements which they looked upon as merely contributory to their own wealth and greatness were growing into new nations, which upon the happening of a fit opportunity would surely seek their independence. The Definitive Treaty of 1763 may be looked upon as the beginning of a wonderful half-century of transition, during which this change was really everywhere effected, here in one way, and there in another. This is the first occasion in history when a great political convulsion has traveled quickly from one end of a great continent to the other, and accomplished a revolution which can never be reversed. The fall of the power of Europe in North and South America is perhaps the grandest catastrophe in all history, though we stand at present too near to it to realize its full significance.

Chapter IX

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. 1776

THE American colonists had already proved their strength in the Seven Years' War; they were strongly attached to England, but more strongly to the English liberties which they had inherited. England had allowed them to form themselves into several little independent republics, most of which would long ago have shaken off the commercial yoke of the mother-country if they had not had before their eyes the fear of the French knocking at their gates. When Canada was conquered this fear was gone; and when England proposed to tax them for the avowed purpose of keeping up a military force, they believed that this was only the beginning of a plan for reducing them to the model of the Royal Governments of Georgia and Canada. There is no doubt that English statesmen, if they had pleased, might easily have avoided the supposed necessity of taxing America. They might have put off until better times any increase in the army, and have, in the meantime, greatly increased the land revenue. The colonists resisted Grenville's Stamp Act so unanimously that it was withdrawn by the government which succeeded; but Townshend in 1767 revived the attempt, and laid duties upon tea, paper, glass, and painters' colors, some of the most important articles exported to them by England. The colonists unanimously resolved not to buy of England any of the taxed articles; and as the taxes therefore only ruined the English trade, they were repealed in 1770, except a trifling duty on tea, which was purposely left as an assertion of the right of taxation. In 1773 a cargo of tea, which had just arrived in the port of Boston, was thrown into the sea by the people, and the British Parliament retaliated by completely abolishing the charter of the colony and closing the port. From this period, hostilities became inevitable. A congress of the colonists was opened at Philadelphia in the next year, and in 1775 the first blood was shed at the battle of Lexington. In 1776 the thirteen colonies declared themselves independent. Canada and Nova Scotia remained loyal. In the next year General Burgoyne, the British commander in chief in Canada, invaded the revolted colonies from the north, but was defeated and capitulated at Saratoga. France, of course, tried to take advantage of this disaster. She acknowledged the independence of the colonies and entered into treaties of alliance and of commerce with them. War between France and England ensued in which the French temporarily captured the islands of Dominica, St. Vincent, and Grenada, though they lost St. Lucie. Lord Cornwallis, the British commander in the southern colonies, surrendered at Yorktown in 1781; but the splendid victory of Rodney off Guadeloupe retrieved British honor, and proved the superiority of England at sea to the combined power of France, Spain, and the thirteen colonies. But the Peace of Versailles, in 1783, left England in a far less dominant position than she held at that of Paris, twenty years before. The independence of the colonies, thence called the United States, was formally acknowledged; Tobago, gained from the French in 1763, was restored, and they were allowed a greater share than before in the Newfoundland fisheries, and to take possession of the small islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon. Florida was restored to Spain. From the Dutch, against whom England had declared war in consequence of their joining the armed neutrality formed by Russia, the English not only took several places in India, but exacted the free navigation of all the Eastern seas. The independence of America was important on many accounts; but its immediate effect was felt in its destroying the Navigation Act, and opening the commerce of the United States to the world. The shipping of the United States increased fivefold in twenty years; the trade with England increased in the same proportion; and these facts in the end showed the people of England that it was well to release their colonies from tutelage as speedily as possible. France and Spain began to cast about for new colonies; Spain explored the western coast northward of Mexico, and France made strenuous efforts to gain a footing in South America. People began to think more and more of agricultural colonies, and less of plantations and colonial possessions; but to form these on a great scale fell to the lot of England alone. Since the independence of America, English capital and labor have been dispersed all over the world, and made the beginnings of a new United States on each shore of British America, in South Africa, and in the great group of islands called Australasia.

The relations between England and the English colonies are now so different that it is not easy to estimate the difference which the independence of the American colonies produced in the mother country at the time. Canada and Australia, for instance, are bound to England by a tie which is known to be so slight that its rupture would be not at all dreaded; and such a rupture would hardly be felt commercially whenever it happened. But the rupture of the ties between America and England amounted to the total destruction of a great artificial system of trade, in which most of the home merchants and manufacturers were interested. The anticipations of these were of course gloomy enough; but the real result, as had been foreseen by a few far-sighted men, was much to their advantage. As soon as the old narrow system of commerce collapsed, a new one naturally arose, of much vaster proportions, and offering an unlimited scope for extension. The collapse of the colonial system, therefore, laid solid beginnings for free trade in England; and in almost every way it proved to be a great benefit. The great English minister into whose hands the affairs of England fell, was prepared to advance free trade far more quickly than people thought. But Pitt's hands were stayed by the French Revolution; a catastrophe whose effect was more immediately felt than even the fall of the Act of Navigation. The French Revolution delayed his plans on the one hand, but on the other, as we shall see by the following chapter, it finished the work of American independence by destroying the old system in the case of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies.

Cook stimulated discovery almost as much as Columbus himself. The journals of his voyages were soon in circulation all over the world. A crowd of navigators of all nations followed in his track on the northwest coast of America, of whom the most famous were Vancouver and La Pérouse. The abundance of fine furs on the north part of this coast attracted the merchants of Siberia and Kamchatka; and in the year after 1783 many settlements for the skin trade were made by the Russians. The vast territories inland were traversed by Mackenzie, Frazer, and other travelers; but for many years no settlements except stations for the fur trade existed on the Pacific shore of the British territory. Great efforts were made to do for maps of the soil what Cook had done for the chart of the ocean. Of Africa little was known beyond the coasts, but these revealed the existence of a great savage population. Many philanthropic people now began to think of civilizing them. In 1787 a party of colonists, led by a Swede called Wadström, landed on the west coast of Africa, but they were driven off by the opposition of the French Senegal Company. The English people, however, took up Wadström and his cause. The plan was, that the slaves of America should be emancipated and sent back to Africa, and that with their experience of civilized life, they might begin the task of civilizing their fellow countrymen. In the south of Africa, Patterson and Vaillant began their explorations in Caffraria, in 1788. These were the beginning of great settlements. The African Association shortly afterward sent out several explorers, the most distinguished of whom was Mungo Park. The cession of Louisiana by Spain to France, and by France to the United States, laid open a vast region west of the Mississippi to American enterprise, and Pursley, in 1805, traversed its pathless forests until he reached the Spanish territory of New Mexico. In the next year Lewis and Clark first crossed the Rocky Mountains, and reached the northwest coast. The Pacific Islands were visited by whaling vessels, and European settlers began to fix themselves in their tracks. Missionaries soon followed, and in many places of the South Seas Christianity and civilization made a beginning together.

From the independence of America dates the great agitation against the slave trade, which ended with its abolition in 1807. More than a century before, George Fox had loudly denounced the slavery of Barbados; and the Quakers of Pennsylvania had all emancipated their slaves. The famous Declaration of Independence commenced with declaring "all men are born free and equal," and all the States, except the Carolinas and Georgia, followed up their victory over England by prohibiting the importation of any more negro slaves; and from 1808 a federal statute prohibited their importation into any part of the Union. Sympathy for the negroes spread at once to England. Many black slaves, whose masters had been ruined by the war, were found naked and starving in the streets of London, as well as in Nova Scotia, and it was resolved to found a free colony at Sierra Leone on the African coast for their reception. This was done, through the efforts of Granville Sharp and Jonas Hanway, in 1787; the colonists were joined by free negroes from the West Indies; and though the natives dispersed them, the settlement was restored in 1791, and long served as an asylum for the rescued victims of the slave traffic. But the hopes that were entertained of its forming a center from which civilization might gradually cover equatorial Africa have hitherto been fruitless.

The loss of the thirteen colonies gave a new importance to the remaining members of the British Colonial Empire. It was foreseen that a religious concession must be made if Canada was to be retained; and the Act of 1774, for regulating its government, practically gave a legal establishment to the Catholic religion, subject to the king's supremacy. This liberal measure, which marks the commencement of Catholic emancipation in the British dominions, was necessary to secure the allegiance of the Canadians. It was strenuously opposed in England and was one of the grievances complained of in the American Declaration of Independence; but its results were most beneficial. The Canadians joined heartily with the British in repelling the invasion of Montgomery in 1775. After the peace of 1783 many loyalists flocked thither from the United States; the settlements rapidly extended westward; and so important did the new dominion become that in 1791 Pitt divided it into two distinct governments, by the names of Upper and Lower Canada, framed upon the model of the republican states of North America. In each he established a legislative council, nominated by the Crown, and a house of assembly, elected by the people. The privileges of the Habeas Corpus Act and the right of self-taxation were granted to the Canadians. The British Parliament retained the right of imposing commercial duties; but the produce of even these was placed at the disposal of the Canadian legislature. This great measure was made necessary by the success of the French Revolution, for a similar agitation to that which had destroyed the government of France might easily have spread to the French population of Canada. Nor was it possible for Canada, with the United States by her side, to continue a royal government on the old model. The commerce of the States had increased tenfold since their emancipation; the States threatened annexation, and the only way to retain the allegiance of the Canadians was to prove to them that they would be better off in connection with the British Government than with the United States.

The independence of America shook to the ground the old colonial system in the British West Indies. Trade with the American colonies was necessary to their existence; the planters had everywhere joined heartily with the mother country in resistance to the attacks of France and Spain, their hereditary enemies, though the allies of their commercial connections in the United States; and England granted them a restricted commerce with the United States, with Ireland, and with foreign colonies, in their own vessels. The West India Islands were now at the height of their prosperity, and henceforth they would probably have declined in the natural course of things through the cultivation of their produce on the American continent and in the East Indies, even if it had not become apparent that the slave system had grown into a public scandal too vast to be tolerated. They furnished a million and a half a year to the imperial treasury, and they possessed at the same time free and independent representative governments of their own. The maintenance of the African slave trade was the reward with which England requited the fidelity of the planters, and bitter were the reproaches with which they perceived the progress made by the anti-slavery movement at home. The condition of the slaves varied in the different islands. Antigua had given to the blacks the privilege of trial by jury, and had encouraged the efforts of the Moravian brethren to convert them to Christianity. But in most of the islands the negroes were treated as mere laboring machines. The general condition of the negroes in the West Indies was perhaps better than in their native country; but the national conscience, once awakened, never rested until the slave trade was abolished, and the way thus prepared for the total extinction of this hateful institution on British soil.

The foundation of the great settlements in Australia is not due to private adventure, like that of Virginia, nor to the desire of liberty, like those of New England. It arose from the necessity of finding a penal settlement for the convicts, who could no longer be sent to the American colonies. At first they were sent to the coast of Guinea, but this was only a roundabout way of putting them to death. Captain Cook had pointed out the fitness of Botany Bay for a European settlement; and in 1788 Pitt sent out Governor Philip, who commenced the convict settlements of Sydney and Norfolk Island. The first twenty years of the colony were years of hard struggles. In 1805 a third settlement was formed on Van

Diemen's Land. The French made a show of taking possession of the Australian coast, which they named "Terre Napoléon," or Napoleon's land. It was many years before Australia was anything more than a penal settlement, or was thought to be in any way an important appendage of the British Empire.

The immense wealth drawn by France and England from their colonies had led to some modification of the Spanish colonial system even before the epoch of independence. The fleet of galleons, sailing only once a year, accompanied by a strong guard, had been abandoned at the peace of 1748, and the trade was carried on by register ships, which sailed as often as occasion required. In 1765 a vast change took place. A general duty of six per cent. was levied, and the commerce of the Spanish islands was thrown open to all Spaniards trading from the principal ports of Spain. In 1774 the trade between the continental colonies themselves was thrown open; and in 1779 they were allowed to trade on their own account to the Spanish islands. The success of these liberal measures was such that the customs' duties were again reduced in 1778 and 1784, a measure which stimulated trade more than ever. A regular service of mailships was established with the mother country. A new political division into four viceroyalties had been some time ago introduced. These were Mexico or New Spain, Peru, New Granada, and Buenos Ayres. New Mexico, Gautemala, Chile, Caracas, Cuba, Porto Rico, Louisiana, Florida, and Santo Domingo were still governed by captains general. Manila was made a free port, and a Philippine Company was established for trading with it. These changes were not made too soon, for a desire for political reform was by this time widely spread among the South Americans. Their domestic government was still as narrow and tyrannical as ever; and the first indication of the coming political storms which swept over them was given during the war with England, coincident with the American War of Independence, by a revolt in Peru in 1780, headed by a descendant of the ancient Incas who called himself Tupac Amaru, or Child of the Sun. In this country the old nobility was still recognized; the remembrance of their ancient nationality was still cherished; and this bold adventurer nearly succeeded in overthrowing the Spanish Government, and setting himself on the throne of his forefathers. But the arms of the Spaniards prevailed; Tupac Amaru was defeated, captured, and sentenced to be torn limb from limb by wild horses in the square of Lima, and his innocent wife and children were burned alive.

The independence of America had not taken all the world by surprise. The merchants and politicians of England were not so well informed as some in France. Indications of a great reaction against the colonial system had been long given in the writings of the French political economists. Quesnay and others, followed in England by the great Adam Smith, endeavored to show that the true prosperity of a state consisted not in its overflowing with gold and busying itself with foreign trade, but in producing as much as possible of the gifts of nature from its own soil. In this they were but partly right; but they were on safer ground when they pointed out the absurdity of the system which kept the colonies in the condition of farms of the mother country, and to be worked for its benefit. They thought that the colonies should be regarded as integral parts or provinces of the mother country; and they foresaw that if the colonies should claim to be considered such, it would be wise for the mother country to yield to them. The French did not go beyond this; but when the English got hold of the same notion, they soon saw that the colonies would not stop at the stage of provinces, but would seek independence. Inquiries into colonial policy were stimulated by the publication of the great French Encyclopedia; and a striking commentary upon them was soon found in the independence of the English colonies. Since then it has become clear that every successful colony tends to gain a strength of its own which leads it to assert equal rights with the mother country, and if these are not granted, to demand its independence. Since the loss of the North American states it has been the true policy of England to grant and even to encourage these claims, and to lead all colonies to depend upon themselves as soon as possible, rather than to wish to keep them in perpetual subjection. The French philosophers also early called attention to the cruelty, injustice, and false economy of the slave trade, and suggested plans for the gradual emancipation of the negroes. From this time dates the rise of a colonial and an anti-colonial party, the former upholding the old system, with slavery as a necessary accompaniment, the latter abandoning both. For France the march of events in Santo Domingo soon settled the question in favor of liberty; but it continued to divide the politicians of England for thirty years longer. After the abolition of slavery

(1835), the West Indies became so insignificant, and the great agricultural colonies of America, Africa, and Australia so important, that the word colony seemed almost to change its meaning.

It was, perhaps, in France that the moral effect of the American Revolution was most fully felt. New forces were steadily fermenting in that country, and the hostility of England had brought the new nation of America from the first into a close alliance with France. But all western Europe was deeply moved by the results of the American war, and in America itself a new and lofty national feeling had been produced. Men had long believed in the prophecy contained in some fine lines written many years before by Bishop Berkeley, in a fit of disgust at the decay and stagnation which prevailed in Europe:

"Westward the course of empire takes its way:
The four first acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day:
Time's noblest offspring is the last."

This prophecy now began to be fulfilled; and Europe began from this time to awaken from a state of apathy or delusion and to feel that if the lead of the world was not to pass from her hands she must keep up with the moral and political progress of America; to do this great changes were necessary; and the history of Europe ever since has been the history of these changes. Thus we see that the independence of America introduced a new political force into the world; public spirit was revived in Europe; and a great series of events soon afterward happened, which all tended to destroy what was left of the old colonial system. We have arrived, in fact, at the events of the French Revolution and the quarter-century which followed it.

Chapter X

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. 1789

THOUGH the bad government of France, and the obstinacy of the privileged classes, were the main causes of the mighty convulsion called the French Revolution, great importance must be ascribed to the prevalence of the doctrines of the philosophers, and the power of the moneyed interest. The New World contributed in many ways to the instruction of the Old. The philosophers pointed out the contrasts of the old system of government and that which had been realized in the United States; the condition of the West Indian slaves helped to illustrate the doctrines of the "Rights of Man"; while, on the other hand, those who had grown rich in the plantations and the colony trade swelled the number who clamored against the clergy and nobility, and wished to see the old country itself opened to their enterprise. All the century there had been great talk of new colonies, and they began to see that there was room for colonization in France itself. The eyes of men were opened by the New World; the old feudal laws were swept away; those which fettered the land were abolished; land became divisible on a man's death among all his children alike; the lands of the church and crown, and of the emigrant nobility, were sold; the old Mississippi scheme of law was applied to raise money for the needs of the country. The chief management of public affairs fell into the hands of men who had been trained in the conduct of mercantile companies; and though the change at first reduced the country to the verge of bankruptcy, its good effects were seen before very long. But the visions of the Colberts and Choiseuls vanished forever. In the colonies the change was everywhere to the disadvantage of France. Santo Domingo became independent, Louisiana was sold to the United States for ready money, and all the rest of the colonies were swallowed up by the English. The French, following the maxims of their political philosophers, procured substitutes at home for colonial produce; they made coffee from the root of the dandelion, and sugar from that of the beet.

Long before the French Revolution a small party in England had been earnestly striving for political and financial reform. The government of the people had long been the gain of a few; and now it came to be seen not only how little substantial good colonies really did, under the old system, to the nation which possessed them, but that, in an indirect way, they strengthened the government against the people. The colonies carried with them an important official influence. The governorships, judgeships, generalships, and numberless other offices which they made necessary, as well as the army and navy contracts, which they largely swelled, were great pieces of patronage. The maintenance of the exclusive commercial system kept the moneyed classes attached to the government. Besides, the colonies, as we have seen, were a fertile source of wars: and a weak government could greatly strengthen itself by a successful war. All this, coming after the independence of America, strengthened a rising anti-colonial party; the efforts of this party were early directed to the abolition of protective duties in favor of British West Indian produce. It took more than half a century, however, to accomplish this, for the differential sugar duties lasted until 1854. From the French Revolution dates a growing conviction that the old Greek system of independent colonies was, after all, the only true one, or at any rate the only one practicable on a large scale, and that the commercial colony system must, sooner or later, be totally abandoned.

Before the French Revolution broke out, in 1789, the western part of Santo Domingo was perhaps the most remarkable spectacle of successful industry in the world. The plantations, which were numbered by thousands, reached to the very tops of the mountains, and the town of Cap François almost rivaled the capitals of Europe. The planters themselves were wealthy and intelligent. The spirit of industry and enterprise had extended to the free blacks and mulattoes, many of whom were not only well educated, but had visited Europe, and had imbibed the newest European ideas. They were more numerous than the planters, and the planters were justly alarmed at the prospect of their taking a share in the government. The philosophers' doctrine that Santo Domingo was a part of the mother country was generally accepted, and the planters proceeded to return deputies from among themselves to represent the island in the National Assembly. The mulattoes and free blacks demanded in vain a voice in the elections; for it was known that in that case the government would fall into their hands, the slaves would be emancipated, and the European planters as good as ruined. But the national assembly at Paris remained firm to the principles of equality on which the great Revolution was itself based. It was argued in vain that the ruin of the colonies would follow; and a famous saying rang through the assembly, "Perish the colonies rather than a single principle!" The equality of rights was decreed; and the news of this decision was received in the island with despair, which soon turned to hatred of the new French Government, and a leaning toward England. The provincial assembly of Santo Domingo had still some months to run before a new election; but it became known that the whites intended to resist the new law by force of arms, and perhaps by foreign intervention. The mulattoes took the offensive, and on August 23, 1791, a general rising took place around Cap François. Before two months were over, 1000 plantations had been destroyed, and 10,000 negroes and 2000 whites had perished in the struggle. The rebellion extended to the south and west of the colony; here, however, the planters arrested it by solemnly engaging to execute the decree. But the alarm had spread to France; in the next year the decree was repealed, the belief in the double-dealing of the planters was confirmed, and the insurrection became general. Everywhere numbers and intelligence made the blacks successful, and it became clear that the revolt could never be put down without foreign aid.

Though the difficulty of reducing the Maroons of Jamaica might have shown the futility of such an enterprise, the English Government quickly responded to the appeal of the Haytian planters. England had already undertaken the task of repressing the Revolution and all that belonged to it in Europe, but to repress it in the West Indies proved a harder task. With the aid of the English, Port-au-Prince was retaken, but the English force, small enough at first, was wasted by yellow fever, and general after general was obliged to retire. The negroes were by this time under the command of a negro called Toussaint, named also from his plantation L'Ouverture. Born in 1745, and originally a slave, he had become free and rich. He had visited France, and he was a man of wisdom, refinement, and prudence. He proved an able general, and under him the negroes gained every day in confidence and experience. They gradually drove the English from their positions, and in 1798 General Maitland evacuated the island, and

England afterward recognized Hayti as a neutral power. Toussaint lost no time in organizing the infant state. He procured assistance from France, and framed a simple constitution. The people hailed him as their deliverer, and declared him president of the republic. Thus the last year of the eighteenth century saw a strange sight—a free negro state erected amid the ruins of the most flourishing colony in the West Indies.

The example of the blacks of Hayti caused a terrible outbreak of the Maroons of Jamaica in 1795. But their hopes of exciting a general uprising among the slaves were defeated; the island was placed under martial law, and their attacks were successfully repelled. Having possessed themselves, however, of an inaccessible place called the Cockpits, whence they sallied forth to kill and burn, it was found impossible to dislodge them, and the English commander sent to Cuba for a hundred of the bloodhounds in use in that island for the purpose of tracking runaway slaves. When it was known that these had actually arrived, they made proposals for peace on the footing of free black subjects, which General Walpole accepted. Had the English been as liberal as the French in the treatment of the free blacks and mulattoes, and had the general advancement of the English islands been equal to that of the French, perhaps there would at once have arisen free black English states in the West Indies. The negroes of the English West Indies have greatly progressed since their emancipation, and in several islands they have formed a class of small landowners. Elsewhere they have become a free peasantry.

The French, under Pichegru, conquered Belgium and Holland in 1795, and this led to most important additions to the British Colonies. The Dutch almost preferred that their rich colonies should fall into the hands of England than into those of France, and in all parts of the world great possessions—Ceylon, Malacca, Cochin, the Cape Colony, and Guiana, surrendered to the British arms. The Cape Colony, Ceylon, with its fine harbor of Trincomalee, and the Dutch settlements on the Indian coast, completed the chain of the British Eastern Empire, and answered, on a large scale, to the principle of *arrondissement* or rounding off of boundaries, which was shamelessly executed by the French Republic. The successes in the West Indies and an advantageous commercial treaty with the United States contributed to consolidate these conquests. Banda and Amboyna, the ancient English settlements in the Spice Islands, were also taken; but all these conquests, except Ceylon, were restored at the Peace of 1802. In the next year (1797) Godoy, the infamous minister of Charles IV. of Spain, concluded that peace with the Directory from which he received the name of the Prince of Peace; it was marked by the cession to France of the Spanish part of Santo Domingo, and by the immediate conquest of Trinidad by the English, to whom that rich island has ever since belonged, and the principal conquests from the Dutch were only restored to be permanently occupied at a future time. The immense naval power of England was never more conspicuous than when Bonaparte was threatening an invasion of her shores, and kindling the flames of rebellion in Ireland.

But this happy condition of things lasted only a short time. The French republicans had not bargained for the loss of their estates; dissatisfaction became general; Bonaparte wanted work for his soldiers, and he resolved on the foolish and shameful attempt to reduce these brave blacks of Hayti by force of arms. In 1801 an expedition consisting of the finest soldiery of France was dispatched to conquer them. The negroes defended Cap François as long as they could, and when the French entered it they found it a heap of ashes. Port-au-Prince was gained by treachery, and the same means were employed to deprive the negroes of their wise and able general. Leclerc, the brother-in-law of Bonaparte, was in command of the expedition. He persuaded the negroes that Bonaparte was anxious for their freedom, and proved to Toussaint that a connection with liberal and regenerated France would be for their benefit; he induced the negroes to lay down their arms and Toussaint to retire to his country seat. No sooner was this done, however, than the treacherous Frenchman had him arrested and sent to France, with his wife and children, as a traitor; and this great and brave man, to the eternal infamy of Bonaparte and France, perished in a noisome dungeon at Besançon in 1803. But Toussaint's colleagues, Dessalines and Christophe, still carried on the war, and the rage and cruelty of the French knew no bounds. The bloodhounds were fetched from Cuba, and actually employed in hunting down the negroes. But justice and liberty triumphed. Leclerc was dead, and his successor, Rochambeau, beaten at St. Marc, was driven to the sea in 1803; and the soldiers who had defeated all the chivalry of the Old World, finally retreated before the despised negroes of the plantations and the deadly climate of the tropics. In 1804, Dessalines, a negro, like Toussaint, was proclaimed emperor. Like Toussaint, whose lieutenant he had been, he had begun life as a slave. The assumption of the imperial title by this negro adventurer has a sad and strange air of comedy. Dessalines reigned less than three years, for he was assassinated in 1806.

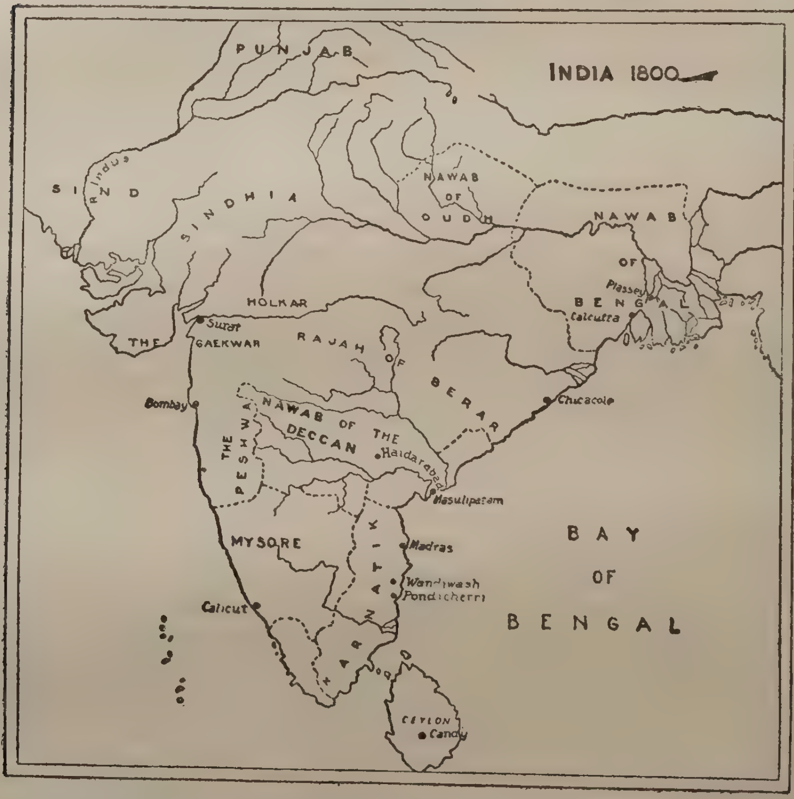
The Dutch East India Company had been long on the decline, and it subsisted only through its connection with the Dutch Government. When this perished, and Holland was united to France, it was formally abolished, and its debts and possessions became those of the nation (1795). The trade with continental India was thrown open, but that of Batavia and the islands continued to be a national monopoly. The dividend of the English Company was limited by Act of Parliament to ten per cent., and its affairs had ever since its first territorial conquests been looked on as those of the nation; but the English are always unwilling to part with an old institution. As the company was a convenient instrument of government, it was allowed to subsist for many years longer. The example, however, of the Dutch in throwing open the trade of India was followed much earlier; for when the charter was renewed in 1814 the monopoly of the company in India was abolished, though that in China was renewed.

Napoleon Bonaparte, now the chief general of the French Republic, conceived one of the grandest designs that had ever occupied the mind of man. It was not indeed new, for Macedonian and Turkish conquerors had actually executed the first part of the same project, and Choiseul, forty years before, had fixed his eyes on Egypt as the foundation of a French empire in India. Now, if ever, the time was ripe for its execution. Under Bonaparte France had not only resisted with success the coalition of European powers formed for her ruin by England, but had vastly increased her territory and her influence on the European Continent. He now proposed to roll back the whole tide of the events which make up the present history, to take possession of Egypt and the Turkish Empire, and by restoring the Indian trade to its ancient channels to ruin the trade and influence of England in the East. He was victorious on land in Egypt and Syria, but the English destroyed his fleet in the battles of Aboukir and the Nile, and he was obliged to return to France. The French took possession of the strong fortress of Malta, which was to have been the foundation-stone of the French Indian Empire; but the English drove them out, and refused to evacuate the island after the Peace of Amiens in 1802. Bonaparte's successes in Egypt had been too brilliant to be forgotten. The French were still dazzled by the vision of a French Eastern Empire, resting on Constantinople and Alexandria, and the English refusal to leave the way again open, by the evacuation of Malta, led to the renewal of the war in 1803. Bonaparte's successes on the Continent continued unchecked for ten years longer, but he made no further efforts in the East. He endeavored, however, by the famous Berlin and Milan decrees, to ruin the trade and the colonial system of England by rigorously excluding her manufactures and her colonial produce from the markets of Europe, and in this way he at once diminished British resources, and stimulated the trade and manufactures of France and Germany. Besides, the orders in council, which the English Government was obliged to make in self-defense, helped to drive the United States into a war with England. Had Bonaparte succeeded in his grand designs we should, perhaps, have seen the great English trade with America almost destroyed and the progress of the United States seriously checked. We might have seen the commerce of the East once more poured into the ports of the Mediterranean, Italy regain her ancient wealth and splendor as a province of France, the Suez Canal would have been made a half-century earlier and France might by this time have become the mistress of the world. A similar dream had entered the head of Alexander the Great, and the attempt had been made by Solyman the Magnificent, nearly three hundred years before; but we are sure that so vast a superstructure could not have been built on a few brilliant military exploits, and sooner or later the balance of power must have fallen to the nation which commanded the greatest mass of individual industry and enterprise.

The most extensive changes, however, which proceeded from the French Revolution happened upon Bonaparte's invasion of the Spanish Peninsula in 1808. Disappointed by the English in his attempts upon the Empire of the East, he resolved to strike a blow for the less valuable but still magnificent Empire of the West. He drove King Charles from Madrid, and made his own brother Joseph King of Spain and the Indies. But the Spaniards of America refused this new sovereign, and by the time the old king was brought back to Madrid in 1814 they had tasted the sweets of liberty, and were determined to have no king at all. Immediately after the deposition of Charles, one American viceroyalty after another declared itself free. The movement in favor of liberty, however, dates from an earlier time. The independence of North America, the increased traffic with Europe consequent upon the opening of trade, and the increased wealth which this brought, produced a general wish for independence, and a strong leaning to England. When Spain declared war against England in 1796, England had encouraged these pretensions, and in the following year, just before Abercromby took Trinidad, Miranda was doing his best to get the English to help in establishing the independence of the Spanish colonies. The French believed that the English would try to recover in South America what they had lost in the North. Portugal was a mere dependency of theirs, Brazil was a good position for maintaining a standing army. The insults of France and the tie of commercial interest rendered the United States in the north friendly to England, and the two powers might have divided the West Indies between them, America taking Cuba, equal in worth to all the rest put together, as her own share. An official of the Government of Cuzco, in Peru, had tried to set up a free government in 1806. He failed, and died on the scaffold in the same year, declaring with his last breath that only an official like himself knew the depth and atrocity of the tyranny which crushed the South American people, and that God had decreed its speedy end. In the same year the English, under Popham, occupied Buenos Ayres, and became masters of the Plata River and of Montevideo. An ineffectual revolution was attempted in Mexico as soon as the news arrived of Charles's deposition; but it was not until 1809, when peace was made between England and the old Spanish Government, and the Spanish ports were opened to English ships, that the way was prepared for the real struggle.

In the course of the Second European War the English carried their maritime supremacy to its greatest height. In 1804 they took Demerara once more from the Dutch, together with Berbice and Essequibo; in 1806 they finally occupied the Cape Colony; in 1809 they took Cayenne, becoming thereby masters of the whole of Guiana and Martinique; in 1810 they took Guadeloupe, and the two islands of Bourbon and Mauritius in the Indian Ocean, the French nation being thus left without a single colony. Amboyna, Banda, and Ternate were again taken from the Dutch; in 1811

Batavia surrendered to Sir Samuel Auchmuty,[1] at the head of the Bengal fleet, and England was mistress of the rich island of Java, and of all the Dutch East Indies. The conquest of Ceylon was completed in 1815 by the capture of Candy. By the Peace of 1814 England restored to France all her conquests, except Tobago, St. Lucie, and Mauritius. To Holland she returned the valuable Dutch Indies, that is, Java, and all the possessions in the surrounding islands, retaining Ceylon and the Cape, which were of little significance except to the possessors of continental India; and as a price to be paid for a portion of Dutch Guiana, England constructed for the united kingdom of Holland and Belgium a line of strong fortresses on the frontier of France. Belgium and Hol-



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[1] Lord Minto, governor general of India, under whom Auchmuty served, accompanied the expedition.

land, however, broke asunder in 1830, so that Holland, on the whole, got but a bad bargain.

The English held their ground firmly against the rising Mahratta power on the one hand, and Tippoo, the formidable Sultan of Mysore, on the other. The French excited Tippoo in 1799 to the final war with England, in which Seringapatam was stormed, and this turbulent prince killed; and England was thus mistress, not only of Bengal, but of all Southern India, except the Mahratta States. At the Peace of 1802 Pondicherry was restored to the French; but a great war broke out with the Mahrattas in 1803, and their power was not finally overthrown until 1818. They had long been divided between the interests of the rival houses of Scindia and Holkar, neither of which was able to prevent England from taking Delhi and Agra, and making a pensioner of the Great Mogul. We have only indicated some of the chief events in the British conquest of India. The British power there lost its colonial character as soon as that conquest was commenced by Clive; after the time of Bonaparte and Tippoo it was never challenged by any European rival.

We have already traced some great steps in the decay of the European colony system. The first is the general decline of commercial companies, whereby the rule of such foreign trades and possessions as had been placed in their hands vested again in the several European nations. Most of the companies were actually dissolved, and the others were absolutely subject to the policy of their several governments. The principal nations of Europe thus came into a valuable heritage, which had, sooner or later, to be fought for; and we have seen how the best part of it was carried off by England and secured by the Definitive Treaty of 1763. Had France and Spain gained the victory the old colonial system might perhaps have been subsisting to this day. But the position which was thus won by England led necessarily to changes greater still. The colonies had grown to monstrous proportions; it was impossible to retain them in the old narrow commercial trammels, and in the struggle to do this they easily broke away, and the colonial system of England toppled to the ground. Changes of an important kind were now necessary in Canada, and the West India Islands began a slow but certain downward career; new settlements were planned in other seas, and some of the old ones acquired a new importance. But the old character of the colony system was utterly gone. The Definitive Treaty of 1763 is therefore the epoch of dissolution for the French colonial system, and the independence of America (1776) of the English. The wars of the French Revolution broke up the Spanish and Portuguese. Bonaparte, the great general of the Revolution, took possession of the Spanish Peninsula; the King of Portugal renounced his old kingdom and fled to his colony of Brazil; while the Spanish colonists revolted from the usurper whom Bonaparte placed on the Spanish throne. The old state of things was replaced in the Peninsula, but it was too late to do this in the colonies. The shock of Bonaparte's policy came when the time was ripe. Though in different degrees, the people of both Spanish and Portuguese America were ready for their independence; and when once the bonds were thrown off it was impossible to impose them anew. Here closes the climax, so to speak, of a great historical drama. From the last years of the eighteenth century colonial history is cast into a totally different shape. The greater colonies all lose their European character, and take an independent one of their own. Historical events, instead of being guided, so far as events ever are guided by anything, by the policy of Europe, are produced by the play of local forces, and the fortunes of the different colonized countries have little or no general connection.

PART II

THE MODERN ERA OF COLONIAL HISTORY. BRITISH DOMINIONS AS PARTNERS IN THE EMPIRE. MANDATES.

1800-1928

Chapter XI

CANADA AND NEWFOUNDLAND. 1763-1928

THE old colonial system had established in America new English and Spanish nations which at last won their independence and thus overthrew the system under which they had grown up. In the colonization of the nineteenth century England alone repeated successfully the process of nation building. Only three great temperate regions overseas remained unoccupied by a dense native population and of sufficient area and resources to maintain powerful nations, and all three fell to England, two by conquest of European colonies already firmly established by other nations, the third by discovery and settlement. The development of these three new English nations in Canada, South Africa, and Australia was the greatest achievement of nineteenth century colonization.

With the history of English rule in Canada we open what may be called the modern era of colonial history. The history of the United States properly comes first; and a history of the modern colonial era cannot be properly understood without studying that of the United States. The spirit of the old American colonists, and that of the institutions which they established, has penetrated more or less into every corner of the new Europe. In the natural course of things the influence of the citizens of the States has been deeply felt by their Canadian neighbors. For a whole century the people of Canada have stood as it were in a balanced position between England on the one hand and the United States on the other. If Canada had locally adjoined England there is no doubt that it would have become a fixed member of the British monarchy. It was inevitable that Canada should take its political cast either from England or from the United States, and it was equally inevitable that the attractive force of the States should outweigh that of England. During a century the laws of nature have been silently working. The sentiments of at least a large section of the people toward the English monarchy have suffered no change, but they have shown no desire for a separate monarchy of their own. The political basis of the colony has in the meantime gradually assimilated itself to that of the United States; and there is an important party which cares nothing about the connection with England; so that Canada is monarchical only through its traditions. If the English monarchy ceased in Canada there is no chance of the establishment of any other. The organized democracy of Canada has long presented a very different state of things from that of a century ago, when the Canadian seigneurs peaceably transferred their allegiance from Louis XV. to George III. Canada and the neighboring colonies have followed America in establishing, with the consent of the mother country, an independent federation. The Australian colonies have done the same and their example will probably be followed in South Africa. America has thus led the way (1) in the organization of colonial communities into democratic states, (2) in the union of these states into federations, and defining what questions the federal government shall deal with, and what shall be left to the provincial governments.

Canada, at the time of its conquest, contained about 65,000 persons, mainly settled on the banks of the St. Lawrence and its tributaries. These were either French, or of mixed French and Indian blood: and they were the poorest part of the population, for many of the capitalists and landowners went back to France at the conquest. After 1763 many soldiers who had served in the war were rewarded with grants of land, and the British Government did what it could to turn the tide of emigration in the direction of Canada, so that the French population might be absorbed in an English element. The King's Proclamation of 1764 promised the Canadians the same sort of constitution as was enjoyed by the old royal governments of the United States; but the troubles which soon after broke out in New England caused this plan to be suspended, and Canada remained under military rule until 1774. The American Revolution was now on the eve of breaking out, and the Anglo-Canadians petitioned that the constitution which they had been promised might be given them. The English Government knew that the Anglo-Canadians were as great lovers of liberty as the Americans, whereas the French Canadians were disposed to prefer their old form of government. The French were in the majority; and in order to keep Canada on the

English side, in the struggle with America, the English determined to maintain as far as possible the French system. Lord North, therefore, in 1774, passed the Quebec Act, which made Canada one royal government by the name of Quebec. There was no assembly, only a council, which might be changed at pleasure; the old French land law and the Roman Catholic Church were established permanently. Until the troubles with the American colonists, what regulation of the colonies existed had been in the hands of the Board of Trade, but the ministers of George III. resolved to hold their new colony tighter than those which were slipping from their grasp. A Colonial Secretary was now appointed, and from this date began a system of official regulation at home which was quite unknown in the earlier English colonial era. It produced great trouble and mischief, and in the case of the large colonies it has now been completely abolished. The Quebec Act marks the beginning of this rule of the Colonial Office, as well as the introduction into Canada of the inhuman criminal law of England. Oddly enough, however, it marks also an epoch in the history of religious toleration, for it dispensed with the statutory "Test" which at that time excluded all Roman Catholics everywhere else in the British dominions from all public offices. A third of the members of council were now to be French Canadians. The Anglo-Canadians in vain protested against this measure, which sowed the seeds of dissension, and kept back the progress of the colony for seventy or eighty years. It was, however, well adapted to gain its immediate object. The clergy and the French landowners warmly supported the British Government, and when the Americans invaded the land and besieged General Carleton in Quebec they were easily repulsed. The legislative council governed the country with closed doors. Their policy was selfish and tyrannical, and the people, both English and French, sent frequent petitions to the home government asking for a representative assembly.

After the acknowledgment of American independence great numbers of loyalists withdrew from the United States and settled in Canada, especially on the shores of Lake Ontario. They were mostly active and wealthy people and they were by no means subservient to the home government. It must have been a deep and strong feeling which led these men to prefer exile in the wilds of Upper Canada to the sunny banks of the Merrimac and the Susquehanna. They were a thoroughly English race, and strongly attached to the monarchy for which they had fought; it was impossible for them to remain content with the settlement of 1774, and they joined with the other Anglo-Canadians in demanding the repeal of the Quebec Act. Pitt now divided Canada into two parts, the Ottawa River being the boundary. Eastward of this was the old French colony, now called Lower Canada, including the cities of Quebec and Montreal, and commanding the navigation of the St. Lawrence; westward was the English colony of Upper Canada, which stretched around the shores of Lake Ontario. Pitt granted to the Canadians the same measure of liberty to which some of the constitutional states of Europe are still limited. Each province had a governor and an executive council appointed by the Crown, and also a law-making body consisting of a legislative council, appointed by the crown, like the British House of Lords, and a representative assembly, like the British House of Commons. The government, however, in both, was responsible only to the Colonial office in London, and was independent of the assembly. This delusive show of freedom was endured for half a century, and was only replaced by something more real after a serious rebellion. Each province managed its legislative affairs independently, and Upper Canada began a course of peaceful and uninterrupted progress. Here English law was at once reëstablished: but there were constant difficulties in Lower Canada, which was far the more important of the two provinces. Fresh batches of English settlers were continually arriving, and there was an increasing minority who strove against the bad laws and narrow commercial policy which the colony had inherited from France. The history of the Parliament of Lower Canada is the history of the struggle of this English minority against the conservative French majority. In 1795 Lord Dorchester in vain tried to get the latter to consent to a modification of the feudal land laws; but the minority succeeded in passing some good laws for trade and revenue. The French, however, increased in numbers faster than the English immigrants, and the Parliament of Lower Canada became gradually more democratic and more determined in its resistance to all innovation, so that the executive were often driven, in the interests of good government, to intrigue and arbitrary measures. The hope that the mere forms of the English constitution would speedily Anglicize Canada proved vain: it was the commercial connection with England and the United States which gradually effected the change. Great Britain, when at war, drew largely on the commercial resources of Canada, and the Napoleonic wars greatly benefited the colony during the early years of its freedom. Shipbuilding, a trade which can be carried on during the long Canadian winter, soon flourished greatly at Quebec, and it extended thence to Montreal. But the ignorant majority of the assembly of Lower Canada continued to discourage the mercantile connection with England. The English minority, however, supported by the people of Upper Canada, succeeded in improving the water and land communication with that province. The people of Upper Canada incurred a heavy debt in public improvements which were really for the benefit of both provinces, and this debt, on the union of Canada, was charged upon the entire nation. In after years Napoleon's Berlin and Milan decrees gave a great impulse to the timber trade, by causing the removal of the English duties on Canadian timber, and the increase on foreign European timber.

The strong spirit of opposition displayed by the Lower Canadians led the executive more than once to oppressive measures. The distrust of the Canadians which prevailed in England and the growing hostility of the United States led in 1807 to the appointment of a purely military governor in the person of Sir James Craig. The French still remember Craig as a despotic and unpopular ruler. He dissolved the assembly in 1810; he removed all the French militia officers, suppressed the newspapers, imprisoned the leaders of the popular party, and talked of disestablishing the Catholic priesthood. All these things retarded the progress of the province. The English emigrant found himself as much in a foreign country as if he had gone to Chile or Brazil, and would have been far more at home in the United States. But the worst feature of all was the injustice of the financial policy maintained by the French majority. As in France, before the revolution, the clergy and landowners refused to bear their proper share of taxation; but the peasantry were in alliance with their seigneurs, and the public expenses were thrown almost entirely on the shoulders of the English merchants. The landowners refused to bear even the common expenses of local government, such as building jails and courthouses. Upper Canada had now quite outstripped the province of Quebec; most of the flour and timber exported was furnished by the new province, and it became clear that a legislative union of the two provinces was the only possible path of improvement. The assembly openly pursued a retrogade course, and the legislative council withheld its consent to many of their bills. The determined policy of Governor Craig was perhaps justified by these facts; but it of course failed to ensure Canada against the dangers of an American invasion. Perhaps the best result of his rule was his report of his administration, which conveyed many important truths in plain language to the British Parliament. Before the American war broke out, he was replaced by a governor who was instructed to adopt a very conciliatory policy, and under him, as we shall see, the French and English cordially united a second time in repelling the invaders.

All the circumstances which induced the French Canadians to resist being Anglicized concurred with great force to induce them to resist annexation to the United States, where English principles were carried to their greatest extent, and the French Canadians, so long as they were secure from what they thought actual oppression, were quite in accord with the government. When the war broke out, in 1812, Sir George Prevost was governor of Canada, and General Brock lieutenant governor of Upper Canada. The Americans, who knew the strong Protestant feeling of Upper Canada, and relied on the dissatisfaction of the English with the forced alliance of the French Catholics of Quebec, crossed into Upper Canada from Detroit under General Hall; but Brock forced them back, and besieged Hall in Detroit itself, where he capitulated. Brock fell at Queenston in a successful repulse of another attempt made by the Americans upon Montreal. The attempts of stronger forces against Lower Canada were equally unfortunate, but in the subsequent years the attempts of the Americans upon Upper Canada were renewed with more success. They took the town of York, and the neighboring garrison of Fort George at Niagara. The Americans were generally stronger than the British on the lakes, but they lost by an invasion of Lower Canada, and the British recovered many of their positions. The line of hostilities stretched from the west end of Lake Erie to the neighborhood of Montreal. Gradually the English transferred the war to American soil, and took from them Niagara, their strongest fortress, Black Rock, and Buffalo. The British now planned an invasion of New York State by way of Lake Champlain, but they lost their vessels, and were repulsed from the fort of Plattsburg. Peace was made by England and America in 1815. In this war Canada, with only a handful of British troops, organized its militia in such a way as not only to defy all the resources of the United States, but to carry the war into the enemy's country. We must, however, be cautious in making deductions from this fact. Canada has a frontier 1500 miles long, which is nowhere completely defensible, and a military force such as the United States could now raise without difficulty would have a much better chance of success. The War of 1812 was undertaken by the States with the view of conquering a wealthy and rising province of England, but it had the effect of uniting the French and English Canadians, and of checking the desire of independence which had begun to possess the former, and it showed that a cordial union between the two Canadas was necessary to check American aggression.

After the peace of 1815 the stream of emigration poured more strongly than ever into both the Canadas. In Lower Canada this served to increase the hostility of the old *habitants,* for the opposition in the assembly grew more and more bitter. The French Canadians saw themselves being gradually swamped by the tide of English, and they disputed unceasingly with the executive, and complained to the home government. Their discontents were far from being groundless. The executive and the legislative council (or upper house) were composed entirely of Crown nominees, and the majority of them were aliens in every respect from the majority of the people, just as in the American provinces of Spain, the colony was really governed from home by people who were ignorant of its circumstances and requirements. The local government was old-fashioned, corrupt, and expensive; it was not responsible to the assembly for its acts; the people had no control whatever over the national property, and the French Canadians, fired by the example of their American neighbors, resolved either to improve it or to shake it off. The national party was led with great ability by Papineau, whose zeal and abilities had raised him to the speakership of the assembly at the age of twenty-six. They embodied their grievances in a manifesto addressed to the English Government, which was known as the "Ninety-two Resolutions," but the government refused to make concessions. Discontent spread more and more widely, and at last the assembly stopped the supplies. For four years no taxes were raised; the government officials received no pay, and the government itself came to a deadlock. Arrests were made for sedition, and at length, in 1837, the rescue by some peasants of two persons who had been arrested became the signal for open rebellion. The outbreak spread to Upper Canada, where the population had increased fivefold since the peace of 1815, and the latest generation of settlers found themselves practically excluded from the government by those who were in possession. The spirit of revolt was actively fomented by American "sympathizers," but the rebellion in both provinces was easily suppressed. The insurgents gained a temporary success at St. Denis, but they were defeated at St. Charles, St. Eustache, and Napierville. Some of the rebels were executed, and 141 were transported to Australia. The English people, who had hitherto known but little about the condition of the colony, were shocked at the fate of these unhappy Canadians. Besides this, it became known that hundreds of Canadian families, disgusted with British rule, were now crossing the frontier and settling in the United States. Public opinion was now thoroughly awakened, and the government interfered between the colonists and the Colonial Office. The country was put under martial law, and the old constitution, which had completely broken down, was suspended. The Earl of Durham was sent to Canada in 1838, to report on the best means of organizing a new government; and he pronounced in favor of totally reversing the policy of North and Pitt, and treating Canada as New England had been treated—that is, letting it govern itself.

Even before the Canadian rebellion, it was apparent to many enlightened men that the only remedy for the ills of the colony was the union of the two Canadas under a single local supreme government, which should be responsible to the local assemblies, and therefore practically independent of England. An outcry was raised at home, when Mr. Roebuck put this forth at the time of the rebellion; but it was immediately recommended by Lord Durham, and presently accomplished. The two Canadas were united in 1840—an epoch which, in Canadian history, corresponds to 1776, the epoch of independence, in that of the United States. Henceforth there was to be a single government, and a single parliament, composed of a legislative council of at least twenty life members, and a lower house of eighty-four deputies, elected by the people every four years, forty-two being elected in each province. This equal division of the representation was apparently unfair to the

French Canadians, who far outnumbered the English of the Upper Province; but it was the secret of the success which attended the scheme, for the French would be henceforth permanently outnumbered in the assembly. The less intelligent among the French protested strongly against the Union, but the voice of the old assembly was now silenced. The French Canadians did not see how vast a concession was made to them by the grant of responsible government, and how necessary it was to temper it by giving some moderate party a preponderance. The boundaries of the electoral districts were revised; the Crown lands, which in Lower Canada were very valuable, were taken by the nation, and a civil list was granted instead of them. Both these measures weakened the French party; their populous districts now counted for no more than the thinly-peopled ones of Upper Canada, and the Upper Province contributed nothing but its debt to the new financial arrangements. On the other hand, the French party now had a real voice in controlling the government, and the justice of the compromise is proved by the fact that thereafter the Canadas were almost uninterruptedly tranquil and prosperous. Great Britain guaranteed them loans for developing their resources; the population has increased until it has become much greater than that of the thirteen colonies of America at the time of their revolt; and local self-government on the English model has been substituted for the seigneurial tenure. The French population in Lower Canada has submitted to the loss of its domination, and entered peacefully into equal rights with the English. It has not, however, disappeared in the midst of the English element, for the French Canadians are still as fondly attached as ever to their own laws and manners, and form a compact mass of more than a million souls. The Act of Union had attempted to Anglicize French Canada by requiring the use of the English language alone in all legislative records. This policy was abandoned and the concurrent use of the French language permitted in 1848.

In each of the Canadas there existed a Conservative or Tory, and a Liberal or Reforming party. In Upper Canada the Conservatives were mainly the officials and their friends, who had hitherto controlled the government by a league called the "Family Compact." The chief man of the party was Sir Allan M'Nab. Their chief principle was at first attachment to the Colonial office in London, and a determination to nullify the Union by resisting the attainment of really responsible government; they named themselves "Loyalists," and their opponents "Rebels." In Lower Canada the parties were divided in much the same way; but here the Liberals had a strong nucleus in the compact body of French inhabitants. The difficulty of uniting the Liberals of both provinces at first gave the power to the Conservatives. But Lord Sydenham, the first governor under the Union, found it impossible to carry on the government with a Conservative cabinet; and the Liberals of both provinces now saw the necessity of uniting. Under Lord Sydenham's successors, Sir Charles Bagot and Lord Metcalfe, the Liberals were in power, and they began a great series of internal reforms. They abolished much of the old penal code, reformed the judicature, organized municipal government, made laws for education, and began important public works. They compelled Governor Metcalfe, after a long struggle, to yield to the ministry the patronage of public appointments. The seat of government had been fixed by the Union at Kingston, then a mere village in Upper Canada; the majority of the Liberals removed it to Montreal, the commercial center of the country. This question of the capital was one of several which still divided the two provinces, without regard to party principles, and which now and then produced a Conservative majority from Upper Canada, while in Lower Canada the Liberals always held their ground. As time went on, the Conservatives gradually reconciled themselves to the principles of the Union, and contented themselves, like the Conservatives at home, with becoming a mere counterbalance to the more advanced party. In Metcalfe's time the Conservatives came again into power, though supported in only a slight majority, and by questionable means; and the governor and his advisers were engaged in a long and bitter struggle with the people. It was not until the time of Lord Elgin that the Liberals obtained a second time a decided preponderance, and Canadian history took a fresh turn with the return to power of their leaders, Baldwin and Lafontaine, in 1848.

The difficulties which arose with the United States on the question of the Oregon boundary again led to the appointment of a military governor, in the person of Lord Cathcart (1845-1847). But the question was peaceably compromised and nothing of importance occurred until the governorship of Lord Elgin (1847-1854). This great practical statesman may be said to have organized Canada into a modern nation. He reformed and increased the representation, improved the administration of the law, completed the abolition of the seigneurial tenure, and secularized the lands of the clergy. The French population increased very fast, and thousands were at this time obliged to emigrate every year to the United States, while there were still numerous tracts of uncultivated land in the eastern townships which had been wastefully granted away to private owners. Many of the poor Canadians had "squatted" on their lands. Lord Elgin tried in vain to give these squatters a right of ownership; but he threw open the Crown and Church lands all over the country to the peasantry at very moderate prices. He greatly improved the navigation of the St. Lawrence, so that ocean steamers might reach the quays of Montreal. In his time railways, telegraphs, and large ship canals were made in the interior; and, greatest of all, the British Parliament, in 1849, threw the trade of Canada open to all the world, by which means the revenue from the customs was quadrupled. One of the last acts of his government was the Commercial Treaty with the United States, which did more than anything else to advance the commerce of Canada. From his time dates the establishment of a regular steam communication with Europe. He also organized an excellent system of immigration. When he quitted Canada he left its population double what it was at the time of the Union. Industry had risen to high importance, and Canadian manufacturers already looked forward to competing in their own market with those of Bradford and Leeds.

Lord Elgin's administration was not free from serious party struggles. Though a Conservative by education and sentiment, he deemed it his duty to throw the whole weight of his influence into the scale of Canadian Liberalism. He sometimes publicly addressed the French representatives in their own language, and in many other ways he succeeded in winning their confidence in a greater degree than any of his predecessors. It was now ten years since the Rebellion; and Lord Elgin's ministry passed an act for a general amnesty in 1849, and for an indemnity to those who had suffered by the violence with which the Rebellion was suppressed. The Conservatives saw in the latter measure an opportunity of recovering the ground which they had lost. They revived the old cry of "Loyalists" and "Rebels"; and when the governor's consent had been given, they excited the mob of Montreal to serious riots. The mob entered the parliament house and drove out with showers of stones the members who were sitting. They broke up the benches, and seized the mace; and one of the ringleaders entered the chair, and dissolved the parliament in the name of the people. They finished by setting fire to the building, which was burned down, together with the colonial archives and a valuable library. But the Liberals of the colony, who numbered three-fourths of the population, rallied round the government; and even the Conservatives of Toronto and Kingston repudiated the acts of the Opposition. The Indemnity Law is remarkable for having been the occasion on which the right of the Canadians to manage their own affairs was finally established. The Opposition appealed to the Home Parliament, but in spite of the strong support of Gladstone and Disraeli, the majority, led by Russell, Roebuck, and Peel, affirmed the decision of Lord Elgin, and thereby convinced the Canadians that the independence which they had received was no empty show. Montreal now ceased to be the seat of government, and the parliaments for some time met alternately at Toronto and at Quebec. The discontented Conservatives now joined with the extreme Democrats, or "Clear-grits," to form a party in favor of annexation to the United States.

The legislative council, or upper house, was made elective in 1856, the old members retaining their seats for life, and forty-eight additional ones being elected by electoral colleges, chosen by the people, for a term of eight years. This change had been long demanded by public opinion, but it cannot be said to have answered the hopes of its promoters. The position of political parties was now greatly changed. The Conservatives had accepted the principles of moderate reform and of truly responsible government; but the Liberals drew nearer and nearer to the principles of the "Clear-grits." They were opposed to the Catholics, and were in favor of adjusting representation to population, without regard to the line which separated the two provinces, of secularizing education, of ceasing to pay for the redemption of the seigneurial rights, diminishing the grants for the colleges and higher schools, and increasing those for the lower schools. Canada was now thoroughly democratized; and though the change had been on the whole most beneficial, it had introduced a low state of political morality. The arts of bribery and corruption and the fabrication of votes were well understood, nor could any electoral law repress them. The two chambers found it impossible to agree on a permanent site for the capital; and in 1857 this question was referred to the Queen, who chose Ottawa, a village situated on the boundary of the two provinces. This choice excited general surprise, for nine-tenths of the Canadians would certainly have voted against it; the Canadian ministry were defeated on the motion for accepting it, and had to retire. But after a long period of debate it was felt that the Colony could not gracefully reverse the Queen's decision, and it was affirmed by a small majority. These questions belong to the viceroyalty of Sir Edmund Head, who quitted Canada in 1861. In his time was first mooted the question of combining all the British possessions in America into one dominion. He was succeeded by Viscount Monck (1861-1867).

Canada is so important that it makes the history of the rest of the British Colonies in America seem insignificant; and it has ended by absorbing all of them. Besides Canada, the Definitive Treaty of 1763 had put Great Britain in possession of New Brunswick, and of Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island. Nova Scotia had been ceded at the Peace of Utrecht, in 1713; New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island were at first annexed to Nova Scotia, but they were afterward constituted separated colonies, and Cape Breton Island was added to Nova Scotia instead. These colonies are known as the maritime provinces. None of them were thought of much importance, until the growth of Canada drew attention to them. In 1755 the English drove out all the French from Nova Scotia. Some of them settled in New Brunswick and Cape Breton; and their descendants remain there to this day in distinct villages by the name of Acadians. At the time of the Definitive Treaty the colonists of Nova Scotia were mostly the overflow of the Northern States, together with some Scotch and Irish immigrants. The Nova Scotians submitted to be taxed by England, and took no part in the struggle for independence, and in 1776 they were joined by ten thousand loyalists from Boston. By the end of the war in 1783 the number of these emigrants was doubled. It is mainly to these Americans that the prosperity of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, like that of Upper Canada, is due. The history of the other maritime provinces very much resembles that of Nova Scotia. They all had their councils and legislative assemblies granted to them by George III.; but these had little control over the destiny of the colonies. The whole of the land in Prince Edward Island, for instance, was given away by the king in one day. The same thing happened in the others; and in order to compete with other fields of emigration the governments have since been obliged to buy the land back from the grantees, who, in many cases, made no use of it, and sell it at a comparatively high price to the immigrants.

In the period between the legislative union of Upper and Lower Canada in 1840 and the establishment of the federal Dominion of Canada in 1867, important constitutional developments occurred in all the British North American provinces. In all of them parliamentary government on the English model was established after much controversy. The royal governors were slow to yield their power into the hands of the legislatures, but in the end the representatives of the people were everywhere successful and it became an established principle that the government must be carried on by responsible ministers representing the majority of the lower legislative chamber, and if the ministers ceased to so represent the majority they must give place to others who fulfilled that requirement. In the Canadas all went smoothly for two years, after their union in 1840, under the governorship of Lord Sydenham and Sir Charles Bagot. Lord Metcalfe, the third governor of the united provinces, was soon in difficulties with the assembly on a question of patronage. His previous service had been in India, a poor school for the study of Anglo-Saxon free institutions. He held that a governor's business was to govern, that he was always responsible to the Crown for his official acts, and therefore could not be in an equal sense responsible to the assembly, since no man can serve two masters. Such also was the view of the British Colonial Office for many years after Lord Durham's report. Lord Metcalfe declined to seek the advice of the ministers concerning appointments to office. The ministers, all save one, immediately resigned and a new ministry was formed, after great delay and difficulty, to sustain the governor. Its appeal to the people was supported by all the royal influence and resulted in a slender majority in the assembly, won at the cost of renewed bitterness against the governor and the British Government. After Lord Metcalfe's death and the brief governorship of Lord Cathcart, the Whig ministry in England, headed by Lord Russell, sent out Lord Elgin as governor of the Canadas. The policy of free trade had recently won its decisive victory in England, the commercial restrictions of the old colonial system were evidently doomed, and it was time for its political restriction to be abandoned likewise. Lord Elgin found a conservative ministry in office, but a new election in 1848 gave a large majority to the Liberal party, and the governor established a precedent, which was thereafter followed, by inviting Lafontaine, the Liberal leader, to form a ministry instead of choosing the ministers himself. He thus, in behalf of Great Britain, stood aloof from party and party government in the colony, as the Crown is accustomed to do in the United Kingdom itself, and thereby conceded the right of the colony to self-government in the executive as well as in the legislative department.

Similar contests between governor and assembly occurred in the maritime provinces. In New Brunswick the legislature got control of the colonial revenues in 1836, and in 1839 the lieutenant governor, Sir John Harvey, officially conceded that the heads of departments held their offices subject to the approval of the legislature. His successor, Sir William Colebrook, attempted to appoint a provincial secretary without consulting the ministers, several of whom immediately resigned. Their protest was sustained by the Colonial Office in England and complete self-government was thereby secured. In Nova Scotia the struggle was more bitter. In 1838 the mother country recognized the right of the colonial assembly to control the provincial revenues and granted other liberal reforms. The assembly next asserted its right to full executive control through ministers responsible to it alone. This was resisted by the governor, Sir Colin Campbell, and his successor, Lord Falkland, in combination with influential Conservatives in the province. Here as in Upper Canada the chief opponents of popular government were the descendants of the American loyalists and members of the Anglican Church. After a bitter controversy the reform ministry in England appointed Sir John Harvey to succeed Lord Falkland, and cabinet government by ministers responsible to the assembly was securely established. In Prince Edward Island the same step was taken in 1851.

In this manner all the powers of the colonial governments were transferred to representatives of the people, and these powers were soon enlarged. In 1846 the colonies were given control of duties on imports, and in 1849 the imperial Navigation Act was repealed, thus throwing open the colonial ports to the vessels of all nations. Control of the post office had been conceded to Canada shortly after the Act of Union. The colonies could now freely adopt such a commercial policy as was best suited to their interests without regard to those of the mother country, and they soon exercised this power.

Having attained complete popular self-government, the British North American provinces again followed the example of the United States by combining in a federal union. This had been suggested soon after the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. Lord Durham had contemplated it in 1839, but at the eleventh hour he was obliged to confine himself to a union of the two Canadas, and for some years no further efforts were made in the direction of a general union. Finally two distinct movements in the maritime provinces and in the Canadas united to bring it about. In 1861 a resolution looking toward the union of the maritime provinces was adopted by the legislature of Nova Scotia under the leadership of Howe, a Liberal, and in 1864, under his Conservative successor, Dr. Tupper (afterward Sir Charles), a conference of delegates from Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island was called to meet at Charlottetown for this purpose. In the meantime the racial antagonism between the French and English had made the constitution of the Canadas unworkable. It will be remembered that the Act of Union, passed in 1840, had given the French province of Lower Canada equal representation in the assembly with the English province of Upper Canada, though the population of the latter was much smaller. Now, however, the rapid growth of population in Upper Canada had given it the numerical superiority, and this English majority began to agitate for the apportionment of representation according to population, exhibiting a spirit of intense hostility to the language, religion, and institutions of the French province. This attack on their nationality was bitterly resented by the French, and as the controversy waxed hotter parties were so evenly balanced in the legislature that stable government became impossible. One short-lived ministry followed another in rapid succession, and general elections were frequently resorted to without permanent result. At last a compromise was effected and a ministry was formed containing representatives of both parties pledged to bring in a measure at the next session for introducing the federal principle into Canada, with provisions permitting the maritime provinces and the Northwest Territories to enter the contemplated union. This coalition ministry, hearing of the Charlottetown conference of the maritime provinces, immediately sent delegates to it. The conference, thus enlarged, decided that the question of the union of all the provinces should be referred to a convention to be held at Quebec in October, 1864.

The convention met at the appointed time and place. There were in attendance twelve delegates from the two Canadas, five from Nova Scotia, seven from New Brunswick, seven from Prince Edward Island and two from Newfoundland. They represented the highest level of political ability and experience in their respective provinces and included many men of distinction, among them the Conservatives John A. Macdonald of Upper Canada and Charles Tupper of Nova Scotia; the Liberals George Brown of Upper Canada, Adams G. Archibald of Nova Scotia, Samuel Leonard Tilley of New Brunswick, and George Coles of Prince Edward Island. The French population of Lower Canada found able representatives in Étienne Paschal Taché, chairman of the convention, and George Étienne Cartier. The convention sat for eighteen days in the parliament house of Quebec, behind closed doors. The results of the deliberations were embodied in seventy-two resolutions recommending the adoption of a federal government charged with matters of common interest for the whole country, with separate local governments in Upper and Lower Canada, and in each of the other provinces, charged with the control of local matters. The model of the British Constitution was to be followed so far as practicable, the executive power vested in the sovereign of the United Kingdom, and to be exercised according to the well-understood principles of the British Constitution (that is through a ministry responsible to the legislature) by the sovereign personally or by the representative of the sovereign duly authorized. The respective powers of the federal and provincial governments were defined and the residuum of power was given to the federation. This departure from American precedent was probably due to the terrible Civil War then raging in the United States in behalf of State rights. It is small matter for wonder that the Canadians should want that question rightly settled from the first. Moreover, the provinces had all been accustomed to the supremacy of the central imperial power, whereas the States in 1787 had recently thrown off that power by successful revolution, and jealously guarded the local independence thus gained. On this point there seems to have been general agreement. As to other matters there were differences. George Brown, the leader of the extreme Liberal and English party in Upper Canada, whose demands for representation according to population had brought on the crisis in the Canadas and led to the movement for federation, now advocated an executive for the provinces on the model of the State governors in the United States, with an effective veto over legislation and the power to dismiss any of the chief executive officers of the province when the assembly was not sitting. These governors, however, he would have appointed by the federal government. He also wished to have the legislatures elected at fixed intervals, and not subject to dissolution in the meantime. In these matters he was overruled.

American precedent was further disregarded in regulating the financial relation of the several provinces with the general government. In the United States the revenue of the States is independent of that of the nation, the former coming chiefly from indirect taxes and the latter from direct. But direct taxes were unknown in the maritime provinces, where municipal self-government did not exist and local needs were met by grants from the legislature. Upper Canada enjoyed municipal self-government supported by direct taxation, and would have preferred to have the provincial governments so supported; but to secure the adhesion of the maritime provinces, it was necessary for the general government to grant annual subsidies to the provincial governments out of the proceeds of the taxation of imports and other federal revenues. As in the federal convention at Philadelphia in 1787 the small States showed much jealousy of the larger ones, so now the delegates from Prince Edward Island feared to enter the proposed Union for similar reasons. Indeed the reasons were stronger by as much as the new government was to be more centralized than that of the United States. The residuum of power was not only conferred on the federal government, but the judges of the higher provincial courts were to be appointed by it and their salaries fixed by the federal parliament. Moreover, provincial legislation was to be subject to federal control in certain cases for the protection of the rights of a Protestant or Roman Catholic minority in matters of education.

The resolutions of the Quebec convention were now referred

THE FORCIBLE EMBARKATION AND EXPATRIATION OF THE ACADIANS BY THE ENGLISH IN 1755

"Vainly Evangeline strove with words and caresses to cheer him,
Vainly offered him food; yet he moved not, he looked not, he spake not."
—LONGFELLOW'S "Evangeline."

Painting by Frank Dicksee, A. R. A.

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back to the provincial legislatures for action. Special conventions were not chosen for this purpose as had been done in the United States, nor was the question in any manner submitted to a popular vote except in New Brunswick, where the first election was adverse to the Union and compelled the resignation of the ministry who favored it. In the same year, however, the lieutenant governor found means to dismiss their successors and appeal again to the people, who now elected a legislature with a safe majority for the Union. In all the maritime provinces there was strong opposition to the Quebec resolutions, due partly to dissatisfaction with the financial terms, partly to the fact that the delegates of these provinces had been elected to consider a confederation restricted to those provinces and had not been authorized to take up the question of a wider union. In Nova Scotia the federal party dared not appeal to the people, and were compelled to wait until 1866 before pressing the question in the legislature, which at length, under the strong influence of the English Colonial Office, approved the plan. In Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland the advocates of the Union were too weak to seriously urge the matter at all. The parliament of the two Canadas approved the Union by large majorities of the representatives of the English and also of the French province. This action was taken early in 1865, and a delegation went to England to forward the project and take steps for the acquisition of the vast territories of the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1866 the Canadian parliament framed separate constitutions for the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, to be submitted to the home government as a part of the federation scheme. Delegates from the provinces which had accepted the plan went to England, met in London in December of that year, and adopted amendments of its financial provisions tending to conciliate the opposition in the maritime provinces. Thus amended the measure was passed without opposition by the imperial parliament on March 29, 1867, as "The British North America Act, 1867." A royal proclamation set the first day of July for putting the new government in force. The federal state took the name Dominion of Canada, and the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada were henceforward called Ontario and Quebec.

The first elections for the Dominion parliament resulted in a victory for the Conservative party under the leadership of Sir John Macdonald, who had been one of the leading advocates of union. In Nova Scotia, however, the opponents of union were successful, and the provincial assembly addressed the British parliament, demanding the repeal of the British North America Act. This could not be obtained, and further financial concessions to that province, made by the Dominion parliament in 1869, induced Mr. Howe, the leader of the opposition there, to abandon a hopeless cause and join the Macdonald ministry. The party of repeal was decisively defeated in the general election for the Dominion parliament in 1872, and shortly thereafter disappeared from the politics of the province. In the meantime disunion sentiment appeared in the west. British Columbia had been admitted to the Union in 1871 upon the promise of the Dominion Government to speedily build a railway to the Pacific. This promise was not fulfilled. There were many physical obstacles to be overcome, business depression had checked enterprise, and a strong faction of the Liberal party was opposed to the undertaking. The people of the western province were angered by the delay, and the legislature demanded the immediate completion of the road or the separation of the province from the Dominion. With the return of the Conservatives to power in 1878 the work was vigorously pushed to a conclusion and the separatist sentiment in British Columbia disappeared.

The admission of British Columbia was a step in a general expansion movement for the absorption of all the British possessions north of the United States. The adhesion of Prince Edward Island was secured in 1873 by liberal financial concessions for the support of the provincial government and the extinguishment of the title of those proprietors to whom the British Government had wastefully granted the greater part of the public lands in the island. Of the maritime provinces, Newfoundland alone remained aloof.

It was in the west, however, that the great field for expansion was to be sought, and its success was assured there before the separatism of Prince Edward Island was overcome. The early history of the Hudson Bay Company has already been narrated. After the conquest of Canada in 1763, the Northwest Company, with headquarters at Montreal, entered into competition for the fur trade, establishing posts and sending its agents to explore the great region between Hudson Bay and the Pacific and Arctic Oceans. As an incident of this rivalry Lord Selkirk received a grant from the Hudson Bay Company in the Red River country, and established a colony of Scotch people there. In spite of a massacre perpetrated in 1816 by the half-breeds in the service of the Northwest Company, the colony lived on. In 1821 the Hudson Bay Company bought in the rights of their rivals and secured an act of parliament granting a monopoly of the trade of the region for twenty-one years, afterward renewed for a like period. The general policy of the company was to discourage settlement in order to preserve its exclusive rights and maintain the value of the trade in furs. It bought from Lord Selkirk's heirs their interest in the Red River country and established a simple form of government over the Scotch settlers and French half-breeds. Meanwhile agitation arose in Canada for the opening up of the country, and no further extension of the company's monopoly could be secured. In 1868 the company agreed to sell to Canada all its territorial claims for 300,000*l.*, reserving certain lands for its own use. The Dominion in 1869 prepared to take possession and sent agents to the Red River country to survey lands and prepare to take over the government. Thereupon the French half-breeds rebelled under the leadership of Louis Riel. The Dominion Government suppressed the revolt by military force, but quieted the discontent of the Red River settlers by creating the new province of Manitoba in 1870, and admitting it to the Union. The government of the rest of the Hudson Bay territory was for a time carried on by the lieutenant governor of Manitoba and a small council created for that purpose. A few years later the Northwest Territories were separately organized under their own lieutenant governor and council appointed by the central government, but the country on the western and southern shores of Hudson Bay remained under the jurisdiction of the lieutenant governor of Manitoba and was named Keewatin. Still later the Northwest was given representatives in parliament and a system of local government was established there, so that the region occupies a constitutional position analogous to that of the organized territories of the United States. The process of expansion was completed by a British order in council annexing to the Dominion all British North American territories except Newfoundland. Doubtless that island will at some time follow the example of Prince Edward Island and complete the Canadian territory in the east. The annexation of British Columbia has already been described. Originally within the domain of the Hudson Bay Company, it had been known as

New Caledonia. Vancouver Island was first separately organized as a Crown colony in 1849 and was granted a representative assembly in 1856. The discovery of gold in New Caledonia in 1858 brought in many settlers and the country was made a Crown colony under the name of British Columbia. In 1866 Vancouver Island was absorbed by the new colony. Until its admission as a province of the Dominion, British Columbia was governed by a lieutenant governor appointed by the Crown and a legislature partly appointed and partly elected by the people. It was thereafter organized like the other provinces with a responsible ministry and an assembly elected by the people. The Dominion undertook to pay subsidies for provincial expenses and to build a railway from the Lakes to the Pacific coast within ten years. Thus Canada had added three provinces, Prince Edward Island, Manitoba, and British Columbia, to the four original members of the union, and had acquired a vast and rich region from which new provinces would in time be formed. Two new provinces, Alberta and Saskatchewan, were constituted out of the Northwest Territories, and admitted to the Union in 1905. The recent discovery of gold in the portion of the Northwest bordering on Alaska led to the governmental organization of that region under the name of Yukon. Throughout the Northwest law is enforced and order maintained by the admirably managed mounted police. The Indian natives have been treated with humanity by the Dominion Government, shielded from bad influences, and taught the simpler arts of civilized life. Circumstances have protected them from the rush of white settlers which has borne so heavily on their kinsmen in the United States from the beginning.

The constitutional history of the Dominion is interesting to Americans chiefly because of the contrasts it presents to federal government as we understand and practice it. In the United States it is an axiom of constitutional practice that the federal and State governments are entirely separate and distinct. In Canada the provinces depend on the Dominion treasury for revenue, as has been stated. For a time it was not uncommon for the same man to sit in the provincial and federal legislatures at the same time, a practice at length forbidden by provincial legislation. Instead of a dual system of courts, the provincial judges are appointed by the Dominion Government, and several years elapsed before a supreme court was established to hear appeals from the provincial courts. Appeals may still be made to the privy council in England, and are in practice heard by the highest English judges sitting as the judicial committee of the privy council. Another sharp contrast to American methods is seen in the constitution and powers of the Senate. Senators are appointed by the Crown for life, and must possess a property qualification. But the influence of the Senate is very small. As in England, the power resides in the House of Commons. This is almost inevitable in a system of government by a ministry responsible to the legislature. Ministers could not well be responsible to two houses, which might often be controlled by opposing parties.

The working of the parliamentary system as applied to the relation of the Dominion with the imperial government on the one hand, and with the provincial governments on the other, are most interesting. The governor general is the important link between colony and empire. Appointed by the English ministry, he stands outside of the struggles of colonial party politics as the king stands outside of English party politics. He wields the royal powers through ministers responsible to the Dominion parliament. In practice the chief executive is the premier representing the majority party in the parliament. The lieutenant governors of the provinces are appointed in form by the governor general, but in practice by the Dominion ministry, and their position with respect to the provincial legislatures is analogous to that of the governor general. Thus, in fact, each province is governed by an executive representing the majority party in the provincial assembly. This system is very elastic. In this field we must seek the sources of constitutional law of the Dominion in the instructions of the British Colonial Office to the governor general, and in the practice that has grown up in the actual working of the system. Thus the pardoning power was exercised by the governor general in favor of Riel and others of the Northwest rebels without the action or recommendation of the ministry then in power. This act was severely criticised in Canada, and led in 1875 to a modification of the commission and instructions of the governor general to prevent its repetition. In the relations of the federal and provincial executives some interesting questions have arisen. In 1878 the Liberal lieutenant governor of Quebec dismissed the Conservative ministry of the province and appointed Liberals in their stead, who appealed to the country. The result of the election was a tie.

The Conservative Dominion ministry now advised the dismissal of the lieutenant governor of Quebec. The governor general refused until he had referred the matter for instructions to the colonial secretary in England, who directed him to comply with the advice of the Dominion ministry. In 1891 the lieutenant governor of Quebec dismissed his ministers for corruption, and on an appeal to the country the new provincial ministry was sustained. There was no appeal to or action by the Dominion Government. Recently the lieutenant governor of British Columbia was removed from office by the Dominion Government for the arbitrary dismissal of the provincial ministers.

The reality of the powers of the governor general in preventing abuses of power for party purposes was illustrated by the refusal of the Earl of Aberdeen to make certain senatorial and judicial appointments, advised by the Conservative ministry of Sir Charles Tupper after it had been defeated in the general elections of 1896. This refusal was sustained by the Dominion parliament and the British Colonial Office.

In its spirit the Canadian constitution is democratic. The property qualification for members of the House of Commons was abolished by the Liberals after their victory in the election of 1873. Members of the lower house are elected by ballot on the same day throughout the Dominion. The right of suffrage is controlled by the laws of each province. The Conservatives enacted a general franchise law in 1885 requiring a small property qualification for voters, but it was repealed and the old system reëstablished soon after the Liberal victory in 1896.

The most serious problems of the Dominion are caused by the religious and racial antagonism of the English and French population. We have seen how this led to the separation of Upper and Lower Canada in 1791 to free the small English population in the western province from French domination; how it brought on the rebellion under Papineau in the French province; how the two provinces were combined in a legislative union in 1840, and the English province, though inferior in population, was given equal representation with the French in the hope of Anglicizing the latter; how, when the growth of Upper Canada outstripped that of the French province, representation according to population was demanded by Upper Canada, the constitution established in 1840 broke down in consequence; and finally how federation was adopted as a remedy, leaving the French of Quebec to manage the affairs of their own province in their own way. The French have not been Anglicized, but cling tenaciously to their own language, laws, and religion, and in their political action have been to a great degree subject to the influence of their priests. The Dominion Government was given some measure of control over the provincial governments to protect the rights of religious minorities. In this and other ways it was inevitable that the racial and religious antagonism should affect Dominion politics. Thus in 1888 an attempt was unsuccessfully made in the Dominion parliament to disallow the action of the Quebec Government in referring to the Pope the distribution of certain funds among the ecclesiastical institutions of the province, in compensation for ecclesiastical estates confiscated by the government. The attempt was considered an unwise interference with the self-government of the province, and was defeated. In 1885 a second rebellion of the French half-breeds of the Northwest under Riel was suppressed by military force. Riel was tried and condemned to death. There was much sympathy for him among the French of Quebec, who made strenuous efforts to secure his pardon. His sentence was executed nevertheless, but the agitation caused an overturn of parties in Quebec. In 1871 the Roman Catholics of New Brunswick unsuccessfully invoked the powers of the Dominion Government and the courts to annul certain school legislation unfavorable to them. Again in 1890 and the following years the school question in Manitoba was the chief political issue throughout the Dominion. Manitoba established a non-sectarian school system in 1890. The Roman Catholic minority appealed in vain to the courts and then to the governor in council. The Conservative ministry introduced in the Dominion parliament a bill to afford them relief, which was bitterly opposed on racial rather than party lines, and had to be abandoned before the close of the session. The general election of 1896 followed, resulting in a victory for the Liberals under Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who carried Quebec by a large majority against the influence of the priests. He compromised the question by permitting religious instruction after school hours and requiring the teaching of French in any school where ten pupils speak the French language. On the whole the federal system seems to have met the racial and religious difficulty fairly well.

In the relations of Canada with the rest of the empire the question of the tariff has been prominent. The United States, after the Civil War, had terminated the reciprocity treaty with Canada. In 1878, after a period of economic depression, the Conservative party took up the policy of protectionism and carried the general election on it. A protective tariff was enacted by the Conservatives shortly after their return to power. The Liberal party opposed this policy, and desired reciprocity with the United States. On their return to power, however, in 1896, they abandoned these issues and took up the policy of preferential trade in favor of England. That is, that English goods be admitted under less duties than are charged upon goods of like kind from other countries. This was the essential feature of the programme set forth by a colonial conference representing the American, South African, and Australian self-governing colonies. No concession has yet been granted by England to the colonies, and the question is a burning one in England now. The attachment of Canadians to the empire is attested by the service of Canadian volunteers in South Africa during the recent Boer War.

Parliamentary government in Canada, as in England, is carried on by the keen rivalry of two great parties. The Conservatives are in spirit not unlike the English party of the same name. They organized the government under the British North America Act, 1867, and carried it on until 1873, and again after a short interval from 1878 until 1896. Until 1891 their leader was Sir John Macdonald. They have emphasized the advantages of the English connection and adopted a critical attitude toward democracy. Their policy has been to extend the boundaries of the Dominion over all British North America, and to bind all its parts together by railways and canals constructed wholly or in part at government expense. Their adoption of protectionism falls in naturally with this national policy. The Liberal party has favored democracy, opposed the establishment of the protective policy, advocated reciprocity and cordial friendship with the United States, and criticised the heavy governmental expenditures on such enterprises as the Canadian Pacific Railway.

The internal development of the Dominion has been rapid and peaceful, save for the two rebellions of the French half-breeds of the Northwest and some abortive raids of Irish "Fenians" from the United States in the years following the American Civil War. The wonderful natural system of water communication by the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes has been vastly improved by canals, and all parts of the country have been connected by railways. Not content with the completion of the Canadian Pacific line, the Canadians are projecting two more transcontinental railways farther north. The Dominion is rich in natural resources, and is vigorously developing them. The recent discovery of gold in the Yukon country was a great stimulus to that Arctic region, as it had before been in British Columbia. In the eastern provinces coal and iron mining are important industries in addition to the fisheries and lumbering. No portion of the country has a more solid basis of future prosperity and greatness than the vast and fertile wheat country of the Northwest. A true national spirit is rising in Canada and sometimes shows itself in an exaggerated sensitiveness to foreign criticism, such as was exhibited in the United States at a similar stage of development. Canadians have recently suffered a keen disappointment in the decision affirming the right of the United States to the exclusive possession of the Pacific coast in the northwest, thus cutting off northern British Columbia and the Yukon country from access to the sea except through foreign territory.

An important item in the internal policy of the Dominion has been the treatment of the public lands. In the latter part of the eighteenth and first quarter of the nineteenth century vast grants were recklessly made for little or no consideration to absentee proprietors, in whose hands the land remained unimproved and inaccessible to settlement. By the acquisition of the Northwest, the opening of the clergy reserves, and purchase from the great proprietors in the older provinces these errors were amended and a policy analogous to that of the United States adopted, under which settlement has gone rapidly forward.

The prime export of Canada has always been its fine yellow pine timber or lumber and the manufactured products of lumber. Formerly the whole country was covered with it. The yellow pine runs 120 feet without knot or branch, and has a butt seven feet in diameter. Each of these trees is worth, in New York, $800, and in England, 200*l*. The lumberers begin their work in autumn, and fell as many trees as they can, during the winter, haul down to the rivers, whence they are carried by the spring floods down to the lakes. Here they are rafted, and floated down over the rapids to Montreal and Quebec, where they are sawn up and distributed for use or export. British Columbia sends large quantities of this valuable product all over the Pacific coast. Besides lumber, Canada exports every year increasing quantities of wheat, flour, beef, pork, and cheese. Some of the factories of Ontario make half a million pounds of cheese a year. Canada has also inexhaustible supplies of mineral oil. Its trade has greatly increased since the construction of the Grand Trunk and other railways. The anticipation of a collision with the United States in 1862 led to the Canadian railways being connected with the port of Halifax, in Nova Scotia, which is accessible to ships all the year round, so that Canada might be independent of the United States for its communication with Europe. Thus was constructed the great Intercolonial Railway. About the same time the manufactures of Canada began to rise to some importance. Manufactures always spring up when the population has reached a certain degree of density. Thousands of the inhabitants of Lower Canada were for many years unable to find employment at home and many settled in the United States. There were one million persons of French Canadian birth or parentage in the United States in 1900.[1] Canada now has abundance of capital; it commands water-power, cheap labor, and easy communication with the rest of the world; it is rich in all kinds of metals, while Nova Scotia and New Brunswick have abundance of coal, so that it is probable that the manufactures of Lower Canada will steadily increase with the increase of population. The natural resources of British Columbia seem to be unlimited. It produces the finest timber in the whole world, it abounds in coal, iron, and copper; and its fisheries are capable of supplying food to the whole continent. The Canadian Pacific Railway, from Montreal to Vancouver, 2906 miles, unites this flourishing province with the rest of the Dominion, and subsidized steamers secure rapid and regular communication with Japan, China, and Australia.

The capital of the Dominion is now the city of Ottawa, on the river of the same name. Here it is that representatives from all parts of the Dominion, from the Pacific to the Atlantic, deliberate. The Canada of a hundred years ago is thus completely eclipsed by the larger growths which have been attracted to it. It has an excellent system of local government. Its relationship to England has shrunk to very slight proportions. Canada now has a supreme Court of Appeal, which was one of the first changes effected by the liberal ministry of Mr. Mackenzie, who came into office in 1874 though the right of appeal from the law courts of Canada to the English Privy Council still exists. England has a nominal veto on the laws made by the Canadians, but it is never exercised, and the imperial government has merely the honorary selection of the Canadian governor general. The frame of society in Canada, as in Australia, is of the American rather than the European type; and many people have supposed that Canada will sooner or later join her fortunes with those of the United States. But Canada takes pride in the empire and in the strength which her vigorous population, now exceeding seven millions, adds to the imperial structure. Her present outlook is toward imperial federation rather than separation.

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[1] "Twelfth Census of the U. S.," Vol. I. pp. 732, 812.

Newfoundland has been claimed by the English ever since its discovery, in the time of Henry VII.; but the English people who settled there were never able, as we have already seen, to keep out the French fishermen, and until the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, there were perpetual feuds between them. By this treaty the island was finally secured to the English, and it has ever since remained a Crown colony. Newfoundland has not been so fortunate as the maritime provinces. Unlike these, it had, until 1832, no constitution granted to it; the rude and lawless people who inhabited it, mostly Irish, were not indeed fit to be entrusted with one. Charles I. had placed Newfoundland under the jurisdiction of the mayor of Southampton; but the government of the island was long practically in the hands of the skippers of English vessels, each of whom was invested, by an act of William III., with the authority of a vice admiral on his own fishing station. When the fishing vessels went for the winter there were no means of keeping order, and crime and disturbances were the natural consequences. In the middle of the eighteenth century, however, the island came to be regarded as something more than a mere fishing ground; permanent settlers went out in great numbers, and the Board of Trade recognized it as a colony, though they still looked upon it as an isolated estate of the English nation, to be farmed for its benefit. But as population increased the fisheries fell more and more into the hands of the resident people; there was little room left for European fishermen; regular grants of land were made; courts of law were established in 1826; on New Year's Day, 1833, the house of assembly met for the first time. Lastly, the government was made responsible to the assembly in 1852. The rich fisheries of Newfoundland still make its chief value; but it has great pine forests, and of late years attention has been drawn to its mines of lead, iron, and copper. Its geographical position connects it closely with the Dominion of Canada, which it will no doubt join in the course of time, though it has thus far refused to do so.

In 1907, considerable friction was felt between the United States and Canada over the power obtained from Niagara Falls, and on January 5th, of that year, the Canadian government announced its intention to place an export duty on the electricity obtained in this way, to secure the requisite power for Dominion industries. The principal feature of internal government in the provinces was the enforcement of the strict Sunday closing law. In the meanwhile negotiations with the United States with reference to postal matters were continued.

During the early part of 1908, the Canadian government seriously considered the placing of loans for western farmers, holding a conference at Ottawa. On May 4th, of this same year, the long discussed boundary line between the Dominion and the United States was finally ratified by the latter country. The long-looked-for tercentenary celebration at Quebec opened in July, 1908, with the distinguished visitor, the Prince of Wales, in attendance. This occasion brought back to the Dominion many native sons, as well as foreigners, and a number of the latter made arrangements for settlement in Canada. On October 26, 1908, the parliamentary elections were held, the result being in favor of the Liberals, but they suffered considerable reduction in their majority.

In February, 1909, ratification was made with reference to the Newfoundland fisheries. On October 25th, of this same year, the Canadian government took an important step in making the vessels of their navy interchangeable with those of Great Britain, and in January, 1910, announcement was made of the proposed building of eleven warships, involving an expenditure of $12,000,000.

Earl Grey, Governor General of Canada, relinquished his office in October, 1911, after serving seven years, a longer period than any of his predecessors since confederation. The new Governor General, the Duke of Connaught, reached Quebec on October 12, 1911, and was there formally sworn in.

In 1911 a census was taken which gave a population of 7,204,-

838, an increase of 1,833,523 over the census of 1901. The growth of the nation throughout has been steady, while the increase in the western provinces has been little short of marvelous.

The great political events of 1910 and 1911 were the campaign for reciprocity with the United States and the new Canadian naval program.

In January, 1911, Sir W. Laurier's Liberal government announced that an agreement had been reached with the United States for a reciprocity treaty. This agreement was based on a freer interchange of products by removing duties altogether on certain articles and materially reducing other duties.

Reciprocity with the United States had been a favorite policy with all parties in Canada for years. But now strong opposition to any reciprocity treaty became pronounced and demand was made that before such radical changes were enacted the whole question should be submitted to the people. Claims were advanced that should such treaty be made it would be detrimental to the nation, because by it Canada would become too intimately bound to the United States. Also by so doing Canada would lose the markets of Great Britain—a trade that had taken years to develop. It was also claimed that trade would be diverted south exclusively, which would materially injure the railroads running east and west, now the greatest arteries of Canadian commerce.

A general feeling arose, too, that the United States, not Canada, was to share the greater benefits from such an arrangement. National pride was ruffled by indiscreet speeches by President Taft and Speaker Clark, which were freely quoted to show that the United States was to be the greater gainer. A feeling of unrest was created by the comments made in both countries that the Reciprocity Treaty would be but the first step that would eventually bring Canada to unite politically with the United States. This was especially resented in Canada and had great influence in the campaign.

The American Congress passed the Reciprocity Act, the House on April 21 and the Senate on July 22, 1911. On July 29th the Canadian government decided to submit the question to the people at a general election. The result was a complete defeat for the Liberal government. The Liberal majority of 43 was converted by the election into a Conservative anti-reciprocity majority of 49.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his Liberal government resigned office

October 6, 1911, and were succeeded by a Conservative government under the leadership of Mr. R. L. Borden.

The Naval Bill passed the House of Commons on May 4, 1910. By its terms a Naval Department was created for Canada and empowered the Canadian government to organize and maintain a permanent naval force. King George V. on August 28, 1911, announced that the naval forces of Canada should receive the style of "The Royal Canadian Navy" and the ships to be designated by "His Majesty's Canadian Ships."

Under this Naval Act two cruisers, the *Niobe* and *Rainbow,* were purchased and brought over in 1910. When the new Conservative government under Mr. Borden took office the naval question was the most prominent one to be solved.

Mr. Borden's policy was opposed to the Liberal plan of a Canadian-built and Canadian-controlled navy. He visited England in July, 1912, studying the naval situation of the Empire, and on his return announced in December, 1912, two notable policies to be pursued by his government. The first was his bill to increase the naval forces of the Empire, by which it was proposed to contribute $35,000,000 to conduct and equip three first-class battleships to be under control of the British Admiralty and to be part of the British Navy. The second was the recognition by Great Britain of Canada's share in the Imperial defence by the appointment of a Canadian minister as one of the permanent members of the Committee of Imperial Defence.

The year 1913 saw great opposition in the Dominion Parliament to Premier Borden's naval policy. The farmers of the Great West were especially strong in their prejudice against the measure, and the various agricultural associations as well as the representatives of organized labor throughout the Dominion joined in demanding a popular referendum on the subject of the navy before a settled policy is adopted.

The Naval Aid Bill of the Borden Government was rejected by the Canadian Senate on May 30, 1913. This ended a six months' parliamentary campaign to carry into effect Mr. Borden's plan for the contribution of $35,000,000 by Canada for the construction of three dreadnoughts for the British navy. The session closed a week later.

Serious strikes in the Vancouver mining regions began in May, 1913, and the resulting disturbances reached their climax in August, when troops were sent to restore order.

In October a conference of the Premiers of the different provinces of Canada met at Ottawa to discuss affairs of common interest to the provinces. They asked that the salary of the chief executive of each province be increased, that his title be changed from Lieutenant-Governor to Governor; that public documents of the provincial governments be carried free in the mails; that the stocks and debentures of the provincial governments be included on the British trustee list, and that a sum equal to 10 per cent of the customs and revenues of the Dominion be added to the provincial subsidies.

When the Dominion Parliament was opened, January 15, 1914, the Navy Bill, which had seemed a question of paramount importance in 1913, was not mentioned in the Speech from the Throne, and it was finally defeated in the Senate. On the Pacific Coast of Canada, as on that of the United States, Asiatic immigration is bitterly opposed. It involves, perhaps, even more serious difficulties from the sparse population of British Columbia, and the possibility that Asiatic immigrants might in a few years outnumber the whites. By agreement with Japan, immigration from that country is limited. But the question came up in a new form, when the Japanese vessel *Kongat a Maru* brought a party of Hindus from British India, who attempted to land in British Columbia. As these would-be immigrants were already subjects of the British Empire, there was much discussion as to the right of the Dominion to exclude them, and the vessel was detained through the month of June. The province of British Columbia, however, stood firm in its refusal to permit the Hindus to land, and they finally returned to India in the Japanese ship that had brought them.

In July the province of Alberta decided on abolishing nearly all other taxes in favor of a scheme of taxation based on actual land values, adopting what is almost a single-tax plan.

On May 29, 1914, a shipwreck occurred on the St. Lawrence River, near Father's Point, rivaling in horror the great *Titanic* disaster. The *Empress of Ireland,* a magnificent passenger steamer belonging to the Canadian Pacific Railway, was moving slowly down the St. Lawrence, bound from Quebec to Liverpool. In the dense fog which lay over the river, she was struck by the *Storstadt,* a Norwegian collier coming up the river. The great liner sank in twenty minutes, with terrible loss of life. A Committee of Inquiry appointed by the Canadian government reported that the disaster was not attributable to any special dangers on the St. Lawrence as a waterway; but they censured the chief officer of the *Storstadt* for altering the course of the collier in a fog without calling the captain. They recommended that special precautions be taken in foggy weather, such as closing portholes, water-tight doors, and bulkheads, and placing rafts on the upper deck; and that the government make arrangements for the picking up and dropping of pilots at different points, so that incoming and outgoing vessels need not cross each other.

When in the latter part of July, 1914, a great European war seemed imminent, Canada immediately offered her support to the empire. Steps were taken to guard the Atlantic and Pacific ports from surprise attack. Great Britain entered the war on August 4, and Canada immediately summoned a meeting of Parliament for August 18, and the Department of Militia and Defense, with Colonel Hughes at its head, issued orders for enrolling volunteers for the European War, who responded in numbers far beyond expectation, while the people throughout the Dominion won the world's admiration by the alacrity and the hardihood with which they met the demands of war.

An army of 50,000 was raised in two months and 30,000 men had been sent overseas. Parliament immediately appropriated $50,000,000 for war expenditures and passed other emergency measures, including authorization of a gift of 1,000,000 bags of flour to Great Britain. A total of 595,441 men served with the Canadian contingent in the war and more than 50,000 were killed in action.

It was toward the close of September, 1914, that the first Canadian troops left for overseas. When the Armistice came, in November, 1918, there were four Canadian divisions fighting on the Western front, and the Fifth was in reserve in England. Canadians also provided Forestry Corps, Railway Corps and other contingents for the Allies. The first commander of Canadians was an Englishman, General Alderson. He was succeeded by another English officer, General Byng; but in 1917 General Arthur W. Currie, a Canadian, took over the command, and the troops of the Canadian Corps were officered entirely by their own countrymen.

The First Canadian Division (one of the most famous among the Allies) attained an enviable reputation early in its service, for, at the Second Battle of Ypres, which began on April 22, 1915, the Germans launched the first gas attack in modern warfare. French troops, largely Turcos and Zouaves, being entirely without protection against gas and taken by surprise, were driven to retreat in haste, leaving a gap, through which the Germans began to pour, following the gas cloud. The steadfastness and resourcefulness of almost raw Canadian troops in this terrible emergency probably defeated the German aims and was one of the remarkable incidents of the war. Other battle fronts of note in Canada's war history include Festubert, Givenchy, St. Eloi, Sanctuary Wood, Vimy Ridge, Passchendaele, Lens, Arras, Amiens, the Hindenburg Line, Bourlon Wood, Cambrai, Valenciennes and Mons.

When war was declared, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Liberal leader, pledged the whole-hearted support of his party to the government. It was not long, however, before disaffection became manifest among French Canadians in Quebec Province. When the government proposed to raise additional forces by conscription, formidable opposition developed in Quebec. Sir Wilfrid Laurier was in sympathy with the Allies, but advocated a plebiscite on conscription. This proposal was overwhelmingly voted down in the House of Commons and in May, 1917, conscription was adopted. Laurier had lost the bulk of his Liberal supporters outside of Quebec and declined to join in a coalition government. Feeling between French Canadians and the dominant British element was further aggravated by a sharp dispute over the cutting off of funds for Ottawa schools that had persisted in the use of French in defiance of an Ontario law. Enforcement of conscription led to serious rioting in Quebec and the city was occupied by troops. At one time a resolution was presented in the Quebec Legislature calling for the secession of Quebec from the Dominion.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier's leadership of the Liberals was confirmed in August, 1917, but the French element among his supporters still opposed conscription. In the fall Sir Robert L. Borden formed a coalition government that included seven Liberals, but dissolution followed. In the election the coalition won, Sir Wilfrid Laurier retaining few followers outside of Quebec. The veteran Liberal leader died in February, 1919.

In some respects the social and political changes in Canada during and following the war were similar to those that took place in the United States. The war period brought prohibition to the front as a political issue, creating sharp divisions between the Federal and Provincial governments and between the rural sections and the towns. The Canadian government, while exercising control over the manufacture and export of liquor, left to the provinces the right to regulate the domestic traffic. The issue was thus fought out in the different provinces, with varying results, which were in many cases altered by subsequent elections. In general the drastic restrictions first imposed in many provinces were modified, and by 1927 government control was established in all but the Maritime Provinces. In 1928 Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia were the only provinces remaining "dry." These changes in the border provinces created many difficulties for those entrusted with the enforcement of prohibition in the United States, since they led to a tremendous increase of the production of liquor in Canada, much of which was smuggled into the States.

Another political development of note was the formation of an agricultural group that took the name of Progressives and attained a dominant position in Ontario, Alberta and Manitoba. Sir Robert L. Borden served in the Imperial War Cabinet and represented Canada at the Peace Conference. He resigned as Prime Minister in 1920 and was succeeded by Arthur Meighen, who had served in the Borden Cabinet. Mr. Meighen attempted to form a "Liberal-Conservative party," but in the election of 1921 the Liberals had 117 seats, the Conservatives 51 and the Progressives 65. William Lyon Mackenzie King, with the conditional support of the Progressives, formed a government. The King Ministry maintained a precarious hold until resignation was forced on June 28, 1926. Premier King and several members of the Cabinet had lost their seats in the previous October election, when the Conservatives made marked gains and the Progressive strength dwindled. The King Cabinet went out following a bitter controversy springing from a scandal in the management of the customs service. Arthur Meighen again became head of the government, but the Conservative gains were wiped out in the election of September, 1926, and W. L. Mackenzie King again became premier. Lord Byng of Vimy, who commanded the Canadians in their victorious offensive against Vimy Ridge, was appointed Governor General on August 2, 1921, and served until August, 1926, when he was succeeded by Viscount Willingdon of Ratton.

As in the case of other British Dominions, Canada's status was greatly altered as a result of the war. Prior to 1914 the British Dominions had no voice in the conduct of foreign affairs. Throughout the war the Canadian troops were recognized as an autonomous force, and Premier Borden was invited to a meeting of the British Cabinet in 1915. Nor was such recognition to end with the war. The Imperial War Conference recognized the Dominions as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth with a voice in foreign policy. At the Peace Conference, Canada and the other Dominions were given separate representation and subsequently signed the Versailles Treaty and joined the League of Nations as distinct entities.

These changes were followed by the creation of a new diplomatic status and Canada established a separate legation in Washington. Charles Vincent Massey was appointed Minister to the United States on November 26, 1926. William Phillips was named American Minister to Canada. Closer relations between the United States and Canada resulted from this arrangement. In 1927, Viscount Willingdon, Governor-General, paid an official visit to Washington and Secretary of State Kellogg, returned the visit by going to Ottawa. Outstanding issues between the two countries were a dispute over the diversion of water from the Great Lakes and minor differences over Canadians entering the United States as daily workers and returning at night. The decade following the war saw a great increase in the trade between the two countries and a tremendous growth of American travel in Canada.

The year 1928 was one of economic improvement generally. As in other British possessions, there was a tendency in Canada to emphasize a sense of independence in diplomatic and military affairs. In April, for example, Premier King refused to support the British treaty with Egypt. Canada expressed a desire for a separate arbitration treaty with the United States and, in the matter of the Briand-Kellogg Anti-War Treaties, was a separate signer.

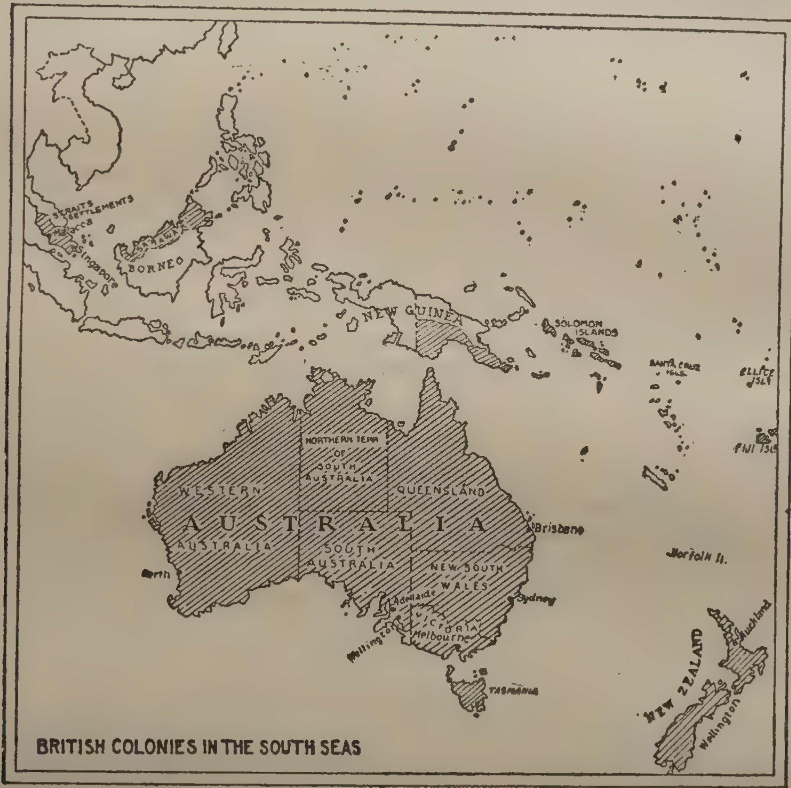
Newfoundland, oldest of British colonies, was officially designated as the Dominion of Newfoundland in 1917 as a reward for her distinguished service to the British Empire in the war. In all, 6,500 men were sent overseas, the Newfoundland regiments fighting in Gallipoli, Egypt and France. A Victory Loan of $2,000,000 was raised in 1918. Newfoundland enjoyed unprecedented prosperity for a period following the war, the peak being reached in 1921. Serious depression followed and it was some time before economic conditions improved. In 1927, a 25-year-old dispute between Canada and Newfoundland over the Labrador border was settled in favor of Newfoundland, the land added by the decision comprising approximately 110,000 square miles. A part of the territory claimed by Newfoundland on the south, also Wood Island, was awarded to Quebec. On the west, the boundary follows the Romaine River and the crest of the divide separating rivers that flow into the Atlantic from those of other basins. This boundary is therefore irregular and will be surveyed by the Province of Quebec to establish their own northeastern boundary. The population of the Dominion of Newfoundland is somewhat small for immediate development of the resources of the island and of Labrador (Newfoundland, 262,177 in 1926; Labrador, 3,977), but the prospects for the future are excellent. In 1927, Newfoundland's export of wood pulp reached a total of $13,500,000, equalling the fishery exports in value. Although the mines are little worked, the iron mines of Bell Island are showing a good output, much of which goes to Germany. Labrador is estimated to have timber to the value of $250,000,000, and if arrangements are made for re-foresting as it is cut, it will prove a great and permanent resource. The fisheries and furs have long been known. Eventually the minerals of the peninsula will be used, and there is known to be available water power of great magnitude. In 1928, therefore, Newfoundland was looking forward to an era of development and prosperity.

BRITISH COLONIES IN THE SOUTH SEA. 1800-1928

Chapter XII

BRITISH COLONIES IN THE SOUTH SEA
1800-1928

COLONIAL history is as full of surprises as any other. Little was it supposed a hundred and fifty years ago that the old colonial system would utterly pass away; quite as little was it guessed what would arise in its place. How incredulously would the politicians of that day have listened to one who should have spoken as follows: "The New Britain, which is slipping from your grasp, you can never recover; but in other and far remoter climes, on a great island in the far South Sea, where as yet no white man dwells, there shall be seen a hundred years hence a second New Britain, more populous, more prosperous, and more profitable to the mother country, than that which you have now lost. This second New Britain, moreover, will grow up from the very dregs of your population, which you are obliged to cast out from among you." This has really taken place; but even in the early years of the century which has elapsed anyone might have been excused for questioning such a prophecy. After the revolt of America, the English people would perhaps not have contemplated the idea of another troublesome set of dependencies with any pleasure, and they would certainly not have colonized in the face of the strenuous efforts which would have been made at that time by France to exclude England from any shore that promised well for new colonies. But the wars of the Revolution and the Empire left the naval strength of France completely exhausted; and though the French never ceased to watch and follow the English explorers, from the time of Cook's voyages down to the settlement of New Zealand, they were never adventurous enough to anticipate them. It is to this exhaustion of France that the steady growth of the Australian colonies is in a great measure due. This growth, surprising as it has been of late, was at the beginning but slow. For many years it was never supposed that Australia would become anything but a place for penal settlements. We have already said how Pitt selected the eastern shores of the island, then just made known by Cook's survey, as a substitute for the Carolinas, whither English felons had hitherto been transported. England at this time found it necessary to banish from her shores 2000 criminals a year, and henceforward these criminals were sent to Australia. As their terms of sentence expired, the convicts became free men again, and often owners of land; and thus we see that in a few years there would be a gradually increasing generation of independent colonists. These would soon be joined by other free settlers from home, if the colony happened to prosper, and ultimately the free element would be so strong in the colony that it would seek to get rid of the penal character altogether. This is what has happened in New South Wales, from which the other Australias are offshoots.



BRITISH COLONIES IN THE SOUTH SEAS

Cook gave the name of New South Wales to the eastern shores of New Holland from their likeness to that hilly coast which is so well known to sailors who enter or leave the port of Bristol. He did not survey it accurately, for he passed without examination the inlet of Port Jackson, which leads to the finest harbor in the whole world, and advised a settlement near his own anchorage of Botany Bay, which had nothing to recommend it except that profusion of strange plants to which it owes its name. To Botany Bay, accordingly, a fleet of several vessels, containing 850 male and female convicts, was dispatched under the command of Captain Arthur Philip, in 1787. Philip quitted Botany Bay as soon as he arrived; and after exploring Port Jackson he decided to make his settlement at that place. The vast harbor to which Port Jackson leads is divided into many coves. The principal of these he called Sydney cove, in honor of Viscount Sydney, the colonial secretary under whose directions the expedition was sent out; and on its shores he began the little convict settlement of Sydney, which after many years was destined to become the capital of a great colony. Why so many years passed before this took place is explained by the nature of the settlement. It mattered nothing to anyone how the settlement got on, provided no one out of the shoals of convicts who were annually brought to the place actually died of hunger. The only thing was to provide the inhabitants with subsistence, and proper land for this purpose was to be selected by the governor, and to be cultivated by the convicts for grain. The soil of the place is poor, and it was not until 1791 that a tolerable site for a farm was found out on the River Paramatta. However, more and more land was grubbed of the tough gum trees which covered the place, and as the convicts arrived they were distributed to work during their allotted time in cultivating the soil, very much like the white slaves sold in the old times to the West Indies, except that they were toiling not for another's profit, but merely for their own subsistence and that of their fellow convicts. On the expiration of their time, a small portion of land, with stock and implements, was sometimes given to them. In after times, when a class of wealthy people had arisen, formed partly of the freed convicts, or emancipists, and partly of free settlers, the convicts were distributed by the governor among them. This was a much better way of disposing of them, from an economic point of view, than the plan of government farms, and gradually the government was able to discontinue the old system, to sell the farms, and pass over all the convicts to private people. From the moral point of view the new system was open to grave objections. Discipline was relaxed and a corrupting element introduced among the free settlers. Such were the elements of which Australia was originally formed. Similar convict settlements were also made on Norfolk Island; but they never prospered, and after a trial of several years were abandoned.

The project of shipping off English men and women by wholesale to a coast many thousand miles off, where there were known to be no natural means of subsistence, had been opposed on humane grounds by the philanthropist Howard. Owing to their ignorance of farming, and the uncertainty of the arrival of stores from England, the poor convicts were often reduced to great straits. They often lived on half rations; sometimes they only had a single cob of Indian corn a day. Sometimes they lived on pounded grass and the flesh of wild dogs. Besides this, the moral condition of the people was at the lowest ebb. This was not to be wondered at, considering who they were; but no means whatever were employed to ameliorate it. The governor's authority was despotic, and he was often obliged to employ the worst ruffians to keep the rest in order. Besides this, the home government embarrassed him by sending out to Sydney a regiment called the New South Wales Corps. There was really no necessity for soldiers in the colony, and this regiment soon became a great abuse. It made the morals of the colony worse and worse; its officers defied and perplexed the governor, and they obtained from the government a monopoly of rum, which was long the principal import of Sydney. It was also its currency, for a bottle of rum was the unit of mercantile value. For twenty years and more no one at home gave a thought to New South Wales, or "Botany Bay," as it was still erroneously called, unless in vague horror and compassion for the poor creatures who lived there in exile and starvation. The only civilizing element in the place was the presence of a devoted clergyman named Johnson, who had voluntarily accompanied the first batch of convicts. Johnson labored unceasingly among the convicts; he built a church for them at his own expense, but they soon burned it down. The only historical fact of the time is the circumnavigation of Tasmania, which had formerly been supposed to be part of the main land, by Flinders and Bass, two of the government staff at Sydney. To this island the convict settlement of Norfolk Island was removed in 1807.

Colonel Lachlan Macquarie entered on the office of governor in 1810, and ruled the settlement for twelve years. His administration was the first turning point in its history. Macquarie was an able and energetic governor, and he began his work with some advantages. The New South Wales Corps had been ordered home; the government kept him well supplied with funds, as well as with convict labor, and he had the experience of twenty years to guide him. Macquarie saw that the best and cheapest way of ruling the convicts was to make them freemen as soon as possible. Before his time, the governors had looked on the convicts as slaves, to be worked for the profit of the government and of the free settlers. Macquarie did all he could to elevate the class of emancipists, and to encourage the convicts to persevere in sober industry in the hope of one day acquiring a respectable position. He began to discontinue the government farms, and to employ the convicts in road-making, so as to extend the colony in all directions. When he came to Sydney the country more than a day's ride from the town was quite unknown. The growth of the settlement was stopped on the west by a range called the Blue Mountains, which before his time no one had succeeded in crossing. But in 1813 there came a great drought upon the colony; the cattle, on which everything depended, were unable to find food. Macquarie surmised that there must be plenty of pasture on the plains above the Blue Mountains; he sent an exploring party, telling them that a pass must be discovered. In a few months, not only was this task accomplished, and the vast and fertile pastures of Bathurst reached, but a road 130 miles long was made, connecting them with Sydney. The Lachlan and Macquarie Rivers were traced out to the west of the Blue Mountains. Besides this, coal was found at the mouth of the Hunter River, and the settlement of Newcastle formed. So fast was the progress that in five years half a million acres on this river had been inclosed, and half a million sterling of capital embarked in its settlement. Macquarie remodeled the town of Sydney, and built several large public buildings. Altogether, it is to him that New South Wales traces its prosperity. His policy had its shortcomings. He spent the public money perhaps too freely; and in his eagerness for the cause of the emancipists, he kept back the tide of free settlers, who would otherwise have poured much faster into the colony. But as his administration went on, very favorable news of the colony began to circulate at home, and when it ceased, this exclusive policy was reversed. When it became known that the penal settlement was gradually becoming a free colony, and that Sydney and its population were rapidly changing their character, English and Scotch people soon bethought them of emigrating to the new country. Macquarie returned home in 1822, leaving New South Wales four times as populous, and twenty times as large as when he went out, and many years in advance of what it might have been under a less able and energetic governor.

The discovery of the fine pastures beyond the Blue Mountains settled the destiny of the colony. The settlers came up thither with their flocks long before Macquarie's road was finished; and it turned out that the downs of Australia were the best sheep-walks in the world. The sheep thrives better there, and produces finer and more abundant wool, than anywhere else. John Macarthur, a lieutenant in the New South Wales Corps, had spent several years in studying the effect of the Australian climate upon the sheep; and he rightly surmised that the staple of the colony would be its fine wool. In 1803 he went to England and procured some pure Spanish merino sheep from the flock of George III. It was then a capital crime to export these sheep from Spain, and they were, therefore, only to be got through royal favor. The Privy Council listened to his wool projects, and he received a large grant of land. Macarthur had found out the true way to Australian prosperity. When the great upland pastures were discovered, the merino breed was well established in the colony; and the sheep owners, without waiting for grants, spread with their flocks over immense tracts of country. This was the beginning of what is called "squatting," and of Australia's first great land problem. Waste lands were the property of the Crown, and it had been the custom to grant them in large or small parcels to settlers. The squatters with their flocks and herds, under the care of a few "stock riders," occupied immense districts far beyond the settled area. They spent nothing on the land itself and took their chances on being dispossessed as the settled area widened. In the meantime their undisturbed possession gave them indefinite claims of a vested interest. A colonial statute of 1833 attempted to prevent encroachment on the Crown lands, but it was impossible to enforce it against the squatters. Governor Bourke, in 1836, divided the territory beyond the settled area into pastoral districts and granted to the squatters temporary licenses to occupy their "runs," as they called the great districts where they pastured their flocks. For this privilege they paid a small fee. In 1839 this was legalized by a colonial statute, which provided for a body of "border police" to keep order in the pastoral districts. The squatters themselves, by mutual agreement, fixed the limits of their runs and finally claimed a permanent interest in them.

The manufacture of wool is perhaps the oldest industry in the world; it now took an entirely fresh start. Wool had from early times been the chief English staple; and the manufactures of England were capable of absorbing it in unlimited quantities. But the fine Australian wool, especially after the invention of the combing machine, gave an unexpected stimulus to the English worsted manufacture, and this quickly reacted upon the colony. Hundreds upon hundreds of square miles of the great Australian downs were now explored and stocked with sheep for the English wool market. The Australian Agricultural Company, one of the greatest and most successful mercantile concerns of the century, was formed at home; and from this time, in spite of reactions and reverses, the colony came to have a real commercial existence. It was in the time of Macquarie's successor, Sir Thomas Brisbane, that the prospects of New South Wales became generally known in England. Free immigrants, each bringing more or less capital with him, now poured in, and the demand for labor became enormous. At first the penal settlements were renewed as depots for the supply of labor, and it was even proposed that the convicts should be sold by auction on their arrival, but in the end the influx of free laborers entirely altered the question. In Brisbane's time, and that of his successor, Sir Ralph Darling, wages fell and work became scarce in England, and English workingmen now turned their attention to Australia. Hitherto the people had been either convicts or free settlers of more or less wealth, and between these classes there was great bitterness of feeling, each, naturally enough, thinking that the colony existed for their own exclusive benefit. The free laborers who now poured in greatly contributed in course of time to fusing the population into one. In Brisbane's time, trial by jury and a free press were introduced. The finest pastures in Australia, the Darling Downs, near Moreton Bay, were discovered and settled. The rivers which pour into Moreton Bay were explored: one of them was named the Brisbane, and a few miles from its mouth the town of the same name, now the capital of the colony of Queensland, was founded; and other explorations in his time led to the foundation of a second independent colony. The Macquarie was traced beyond the marshes, in which it was supposed to lose itself, and named the Darling, and the Murray River was discovered. The tracing out of the Murray River by the adventurous traveler Sturt, led to a colony on the site which he named South Australia. In Darling's time the Swan River Colony, now called Western Australia, was commenced. Darling discontinued the wasteful practice of free grants of land to wealthy people. He was the first to sell the land at a small fixed price, on the system adopted in America, and he thus formed a fund which was afterward employed in carrying out laborers and artisans to the colony free of expense. This system was settled and improved in the time of his successor.

The foundation of the colony on the Swan River is chiefly due to the desire of the English at home that every part of the Australian shores that was suitable for colonies should be occupied in the name of England as soon as possible. As soon as the nature of the Swan River site was known, an expedition was sent there in 1829, and two towns, the Port of Freemantle, and the town of Perth, twelve miles up the river, were founded. A small settlement on King George's Sound, at the southwest angle of the continent, founded from Sydney in 1826, was now taken over by the new colony. It afforded the best harbor on the south coast and the little town of Albany soon became a port of call for vessels from Europe bound further east, while the center of settlement at Perth and Freemantle remained for a long time comparatively isolated. In the Swan River settlement vast free grants of land were made, one man receiving a quarter of a million of acres. For some years settlers continued to arrive in fair numbers, but they were soon carried off by the stronger attractions and quicker growth of the eastern colonies. Besides, there were difficulties with the robust blacks of western Australia which did not exist in the east; the best part of the land had been granted away, and there was not convict labor. After the discovery of gold in the eastern colonies, the contrast became even more decided. There was no gold in western Australia, and its small laboring population diminished more and more. Free passages from England were granted, but the immigrants soon found out the disadvantages of the place, and emigrated afresh eastward. At the foundation of the colony the Colonial Office had promised that under no circumstances would convicts be sent there, but at last it became clear that the only thing to be done was to bring to western Australia the convict labor which the eastern colonies were able to discard, and during the ten years after 1850 as many as ten thousand convicts were sent hither. This resource saved the colony from extinction; but even the convicts got away to the eastern colonies as soon as they could, and in consequence of complaints from these colonies, which were anxious to remove all traces of the convict element, the transportation to western Australia was discontinued in 1868. This was done against the protest of the west Australians themselves for the convicts made necessary large expenditures of British capital in the colony, and created a steady market for provisions. Under this stimulus agriculture revived, new lands had been taken up and with the proceeds free emigrants had been sent out on the general system applied to all the colonies. Nevertheless the abolition of convict transportation caused no disaster. New industries had sprung up—coal mining, the guano trade, horse breeding for the army in India. At last gold was discovered in 1882. The steady progress of the colony warranted the grant of full self-government in 1890. Since then new gold fields have been opened up, railways have been built, and the rapid growth of population has placed western Australia abreast of the other colonies.

Van Diemen's Land was occupied as a penal settlement by expeditions from Sydney in 1804. Hobart, which later became the capital of the whole island, was founded in the south, and Launceston in the north. The country proved to be well watered and fertile. In 1807 the island was for the first time crossed from north to south and soon after a road was opened from Launceston to Hobart. In 1806 a severe famine led to the employment of some of the convicts in hunting. Many escaped and took up the congenial employment of robbery for a livelihood. This was the origin of the "bushrangers," who for twenty years were a terror to lonely farms and outlying settlements. Meanwhile progress was made. Wheat began to be exported in 1815 and wool in 1819. Two years later the population was over 7000. Free settlers arrived in considerable numbers and began to oppose the convict system, here at its worst, since the prisoners were for the most part incorrigibles from the other penal settlements. Horrible tales were told of Macquarie Harbor and Port Arthur, where the most degraded criminals were confined. In 1835 the free settlers made a formal petition to the imperial government for the abolition of convict transportation. By 1846 the population had increased to 40,000 and transportation was finally abolished in 1853. In 1856 the island became a separate colony with a representative government, and its name was changed to Tasmania. By this time the race of aborigines was practically extinct. The last native died in 1872.

Governor Darling returned to England from New South Wales in 1831; and the six years' administration of his successor, Sir Richard Bourke, marks a fresh turning point in Australian history. In his time the colony threw off two great offshoots. Port Phillip, on which now stands the great city of Melbourne, had been discovered in 1802, and in the next year the government sent hither a convict colony. This did not prosper, and this fine site was neglected for thirty years, except for a second unsuccessful attempt at a convict settlement in 1825. When the sudden rise of New South Wales began, the squatters began to settle to the west and north of Port Phillip; and the government at once sent an exploring party, who reported most favorably of the country around. In 1834 the Henty family, having gone from England to Western Australia and lost their fortune there, settled at Portland Bay and engaged in whaling and farming. Their settlement was reluctantly recognized by the imperial government in 1835. In the same year a larger settlement was made near Port Phillip upon lands purchased from the aborigines by newcomers from Tasmania led by Batman and Fawkner. The English Government did not recognize the validity of their purchase, but paid them a lump sum in compensation. It was evident that settlers could not be kept out of the region. In 1836 Governor Bourke proclaimed this new land, which had been called, from its rich promise, Australia Felix, open for colonization, and appointed a resident police magistrate. Under Bourke's directions the site of a capital was laid out, to be called Melbourne, in honor of the English prime minister. This was in 1837, so that the beginning of the colony corresponds nearly with that of Queen Victoria's reign; a circumstance which afterward led to its being named Victoria. In 1839 a "superintendent" was appointed for the district with the powers of a lieutenant governor under the governor of New South Wales. In 1842 Melbourne received a municipal charter and a movement began for separation from the mother colony. This was authorized by the British Parliament in 1850 and the new government was created July 1, 1851. The colony then had a population of 77,000, with a large revenue and thriving trade. The chief industry was agriculture and sheep raising.

Further west still, a second new colony arose on the site discovered by Sturt in 1829. This was called South Australia, and the first governor arrived there at the end of the year 1836. The intended capital was named Adelaide, in honor of the Queen of William IV. Both the new colonies were commenced on a new system, called, from its inventor, the Wakefield system, but the founders of South Australia were able to carry it out most effectually, because they were quite independent of the experience and the prejudices of the Sydney government. Edward Gibbon Wakefield was an English gentleman with influential political connections. Unfortunately he had never seen Australia, and in fact remained a stranger to it until the latter part of his life. He missed in Sydney, with its many leading and wealthy men who had once been convicts or rough laboring immigrants, much that he thought necessary to these new nations, and his notion was that the new colonies ought to be made "fairly to represent English society." His plan was to arrest the strong democratic tendencies of the new community, and to reproduce in Australia the strong distinction of classes which was found in England. His economic theories of colonization are more important than his political and social prejudices. He attempted to formulate the rules of successful colonization and thus created a rigid system supposed to be scientific and universally applicable. The abuse from which the provinces of Canada had suffered in early times had been repeated in Australia. Large tracts of land had been wastefully granted to individuals or corporations upon insufficient consideration or for no consideration at all. This had been followed and accompanied by sales at auction often in large blocks and at a very low price. The proprietor of one of the vast grants must either sell or lease the land in smaller lots or hold it unimproved for an increase in value. The chief hindrance to the progress of Western Australia had been certain enormous grants of the most available land in the colony.

Wakefield contrasted with this the sucessful land system of the United States, where the public lands were accurately surveyed and sold in small lots to actual cultivators at a low price He would, however, sell at a relatively high price. He considered a steady supply of labor essential to the success of the colony, and objected to convict or slave labor. But in colonies and other new countries land is abundant and cheap, so that free laborers purchase land for themselves and are drawn away from service for wages. It is therefore necessary to put some indirect restraint upon them to prevent or delay their transformation. This can be accomplished by the sale of the public lands at a sufficiently high price. The laborer will then be compelled to work for wages two or three years after his immigration, or even longer, before he can purchase land for himself either from the public or from some other person who has purchased from the public at a high price. The total proceeds of public land sales ought to be applied to bringing into the colony immigrant laborers from the mother country, whereby an exact and automatic equilibrium will be maintained between the area of cultivated lands, the number of laborers, and the amount of capital in the colony. The price of land ought to be uniform without regard to quality, hence sales at auction as commonly practiced in Australia should not be permitted. The system thus applied in its entirety is certain to prevent the scattering of population over too wide an area, as is common in new colonies. The "sufficient price" at which land should be sold in any given colony could be exactly determined: for an area needing the labor of one man for its profitable cultivation the price should be exactly equal to the cost of importing one laborer from the mother country. If the selling price were higher population would be too much concentrated, and if lower too much scattered for the highest productivity; and on the other hand, if the proceeds of land sales were even in part diverted to uses other than the importation of new laborers, the equilibrium of land, labor, and capital would likewise be destroyed with like results.

As a matter of economic theory the fundamental error of this system is that the condition upon which the "sufficient price" in any colony depends, to wit, the amount of land which one laborer can profitably cultivate, is not fixed, but itself depends upon the rate of wages, for the lower the wages the more laborers can be profitably employed on a given area. However theoretically defective, the Wakefield system of systematic colonization contained three truths, important for Australia, *viz.*: in a colony raising for export crops which require a large capital and a numerous force of laborers it is necessary to maintain a large supply of laborers for wages, and the best means for attaining this end under a system of free labor is to fix a high selling price for uncultivated lands and apply the proceeds to the effective promotion of immigration, but the exact price must be determined according to all the circumstances of each particular colony.

Though sharply criticised at first by many economists, Wakefield's theory won its way to recognition among students, and was applied by the colonies and the home government in a modified form with remarkable success. Thus New South Wales in 1831 put an end to the practice of free grants, and fixed the minimum price of land sold at auction at five shillings an acre, increased in 1838 to twelve shillings, applying the proceeds in part upon public works, but chiefly for promoting immigration. By the Crown Land Sales Act of 1842 the minimum price was fixed at twenty shillings per acre in all the colonies. In the district of Port Phillip, which afterward became the colony of Victoria, the price was still higher. The result was great stimulus to immigration, without which these far distant lands might have remained comparatively unpeopled until the discovery of gold. The same system was applied to Western Australia, but the most desirable land there had in the first instance been granted to a few holders who sold it in competition with the public land or withheld it from sale altogether, so that the results were comparatively disappointing. In thinking of the Wakefield system we must remember that pastoral lands were managed on a different plan, already described.

The most thorough-going application of Wakefield's theories was made in South Australia, founded as a working model of the system in its entirety. An English statute passed in 1834 had provided for the appointment by the king in council of a board of commissioners in England to manage the land system of the colony and superintend the emigration of settlers, with a resident commissioner in the colony acting under their direction. There was also a governor and council for executive and legislative business, with the promise of a constitution when the population should reach 50,000, for the colony was to be entirely independent of New South Wales. The transportation of convicts to the colony was expressly prohibited. Land could be sold only at public sale for cash, and at a uniform price, not less than twelve shilling per acre, for any given period, without regard to situation or quantity; the entire proceeds of land sales and pasturage licenses to be used to assist the immigration of persons under thirty years of age of both sexes in substantially equal proportions. As a condition precedent the commissioners must deposit 20,000*l.* as security in the imperial treasury and intending purchasers of land an additional 35,000*l.* Thereafter the commissioners might borrow on the security of the land fund not over 50,000*l.* for assisting emigration to the colony, and 200,000*l.* more for general purposes to be charged against the future colonial revenues. This was in its essence a commercial speculation. It was believed that a colony could be founded without any sacrifice or expense by the mother country, through the simple expedient of mortgaging its future to defray the initial expense. This "self-supporting principle" proved to be a delusion. Colonial beginnings are costly and no return on the investment can be expected during the years when the foundations are being laid. Nevertheless the plan was enthusiastically received, purchasers came forward, an expedition was sent out in 1836, and the site of Adelaide occupied. For a time all went well. The uniform price of public land rose to twenty shillings per acre, large quantities were sold and immigrants were poured into the colony by the use of the proceeds. This, however, consumed the only public revenues of any moment, and the expenses of colonial administration were met by loans. The first governor was soon recalled. His successor, Colonel Gawler, undertook extravagant expenditures for public buildings, concentrating the laborers at Adelaide when they were needed on the farms. A wild speculation in land broke out. Capitalists neglected their estates to gamble in town lots. Adelaide became the scene of an Australian "bubble." The land-jobbers and money-lenders made fortunes, but the people who emigrated, mostly belonging to the middle and upper classes, found the scheme to be a delusion. Land rapidly rose in value, and as rapidly sank, and lots for which the immigrants had paid high prices became almost worthless. The laborers emigrated elsewhere, and so did those of the capitalists who had anything left. The governor of Adelaide went on as long as he could; but in 1840, the English Government dishonored bills to a large amount which he had drawn on them for the expenses of government. The sale of public lands and assisted immigration stopped in August of that year. The colony was bankrupt and the home government was forced to render financial aid, thus discarding the "self-supporting principle." The depression of South Australia, however, was but temporary. It contains the best grain land in the whole island; and hence it of course soon became the chief source of the food supply of the neighboring colonies, besides exporting large quantities of grain to England. It contains rich mines of copper, and produces large quantities of wool; and in the course of time, as we shall see, the colony quite retrieved its position.

Port Phillip, founded at about the same time as South Australia, was from the first far more prosperous, although not so much show was made by the founders. The immigrants at once sought the downs and began breeding sheep, or settled on the rivers and devoted themselves to farming, instead of settling on the site of the capital and gambling for land. Besides, it was under the government of Bourke, who steadily resisted the whole tendency of the Wakefield system, though he carried out the plan of selling land at a moderate price, and laying quit-rents upon the rich squatters, so as to form a fund for promoting the immigration of laborers. The year 1851 is memorable in Victoria for two things, its political independence, and the discovery of gold. Gold was first found near Bathurst in New South Wales; but shortly afterward the richest gold-field the world had ever seen was discovered at Ballarat in Victoria. A vast influx of population followed, first from the adjacent settlements, and then from Europe and China. The city of Melbourne rose as if by magic; in four years the population of Victoria had increased five-fold, and its imports and exports as much as twelve-fold. By this time the Australian Colonies Act had been passed, and the colonies had to settle the shape which they wished their permanent constitutions to take. Victoria was ahead in this respect of the older colony of Sydney. It had in four years quite outgrown its legislative council, and the demands of the community boldly embraced an elective upper house, and a lower house, sitting only for three years, and constituted on the principles of the ballot, the abolition of the property qualification, equal electoral districts, and manhood suffrage. The new constitution on this basis was proclaimed in 1855.

The beginnings of South Australia, as we have seen, were unpromising; but the whole face of affairs was changed in a few years by the discovery of a new source of wealth. South Australia owes her prosperity to her mines of copper, as Victoria owes hers to her mines of gold. The Kapunda mines were discovered in 1843, and those of Burra-Burra in 1845; and in the meantime the government of the colony had passed into the hands of Sir George Grey, the successor of Colonel Gawler, under whom it gradually began to retrieve its fortunes. He cut down the rate of wages for government employees, and refused to begin any new public works that were not absolutely necessary. Government expenditure was sharply reduced, the laborers heretofore concentrated in Adelaide were forced to seek employment in agriculture; the area of cultivated land increased eight-fold in two years, with but a slight increase in population. These measures, though for the time unpopular, secured the permanent and increasing prosperity of the colony. Copper mining steadily progressed, in spite of the check caused by the discovery of gold in other colonies, and many more rich mines were found, the best being those of Wallaroo and Moonta. The production of wool, grain, and wine steadily increased, and wheat was sent from Adelaide not only to the neighboring colonies, but to the Cape, India, and China. Grey was transferred to New Zealand in 1845, having won the respect and esteem of the colonists in the meanwhile. His successor, Major Robe, introduced discord by granting state aid to the chief religious bodies, an unfortunate and short-lived experiment. He also attempted without success to exact a royalty on minerals produced in the colony. The movement in favor of representative government in South Australia has closely followed the same movement in Victoria. From 1842 to 1850 the colony was governed by a legislative council of eight persons, nominated by the Crown; but in the latter year the number was increased from eight to twenty-four, and two-thirds were to be elected by the colonists, as in Western Australia. The Australian Colonies Act empowered the council to choose such new institutions as might be suitable to the colony; and in 1853, while similar discussions were pending in Victoria and in New South Wales, the council passed a bill establishing an upper and a lower house, the former being nominated by the Crown and the latter elected by the people. The colonists petitioned the home government against this constitution of the upper house; like the people of Victoria, they wished their upper house to be elective, and they gained their point. The new constitution on this basis was proclaimed in 1856. In 1842 the imperial government consolidated the colonial debts at the rate of three and one-half per cent., charged off the sum of 155,000*l.* originally advanced to the colony, gave the governor power to borrow for future needs on the credit of the colonial revenues, abolished the office and powers of the commission under which the colony had been founded, and made the system of land distribution uniform with that of the other colonies, *i. e.,* the modified Wakefield system of sales at a comparatively high price and use of the proceeds to promote immigration.

When we consider that the east coast of Australia is about two thousand miles long, and that Sydney is near the south end, it becomes clear that if settlements were to be made along all its length, it would be necessary to divide the colony for purposes of government. After the settlement of the Darling Downs, the town of Brisbane, near the old penal colony of Moreton Bay, about halfway up the settled coast, rapidly grew up into an important place. Sheep owners and farmers went on settling far away northward, and Brisbane soon tended to become the capital of a northern portion of New South Wales. Accordingly in 1859 this portion was erected into a separate colony, with a representative government framed on the model of that of New South Wales, by the name of Queensland. The more northern shores of the great East Australian coast differ in one great matter from those about Sydney. They are much hotter, because near the Equator, and much of them is actually within the tropics. Here, then, we naturally look for something like what we have already met with in the West Indies, and we accordingly find that Queensland within the tropics is well adapted for the production of sugar, tobacco, and cotton. The south of Queensland is at present the most thickly settled, like New South Wales, and wool is therefore, on the whole, its staple product. But the immense length of tropical coast to the north is not suited for growing wool or grain: Rockhampton is the center of a large plantation district and still farther north is a mining district of great productiveness whose yield of gold, tin, copper, and silver rivals the agricultural products of the south. The laborers of the Queensland plantations are chiefly South Sea Islanders, who are imported under government inspection, and bound to work for a term of three years, after which they return home with their savings, and, what is far more important, with new ideas of life. Many of those who have thus returned come back to Queensland for a second term of labor, and we may thus conclude, in spite of the objections of philanthropists, that this system worked benefit to both the parties. Its unquestioned abuses gave rise to much agitation in the colony for the prohibition on humanitarian grounds. A combination of the farmers of the south and the miners and stockmen of the north effected this in 1883, but after a brief experiment the prohibition was replaced by stringent regulations. As a result of this contest plans for dividing Queensland into three colonies came to be urged, especially in the north. The immigration of Pacific Island laborers into any part of Australia has been prohibited by an act of the Australian Commonwealth Parliament passed December 17, 1901.

New South Wales had greatly increased in importance through its own growth and that of its dependencies, and to satisfy a strong and growing feeling, an elective element was introduced into the government in 1842 by the Earl of Derby, then colonial secretary. New Zealand had been already severed from the parent colony, and the same thing ought perhaps to have been at once done with Port Philip. New South Wales was, until 1823, under the despotic power of the governor, who combined in his own person the highest executive, legislative, and judicial authority. Governor Macquarie had resisted the attempt to hamper him by any sort of legislative council, but in Governor Brisbane's time the chief officials were combined into something of the sort; and in that of Governor Darling, seven colonists, nominated by the Crown, were added, so as to make up a council of fifteen. Civil courts had been introduced in 1814, their powers enlarged and trial by jury in civil cases permitted in 1823, freedom of the press conceded in 1824, and English law established by an imperial statute in 1828. The colony became self-sustaining in 1827, and control of the finances began to pass into the hands of the council. An executive council or ministry, responsible to the governor, had existed in New South Wales from about 1825, in South Australia and Western Australia from the first, and in Victoria, Queensland, and Tasmania from the time of their separation from New South Wales.

Political instincts are always strong in the English race; during the recent influx of settlers and capital the conduct of the government often produced dissatisfaction; and Lord Derby's Act was well-timed and, so far as it went, successful. He made a legislature of one house, consisting of the six chief officials, six crown nominees, and twenty-four elected representatives of the people, eighteen elected from the district of Sydney, and six from Port Phillip. It was empowered to pass laws not repugnant to the laws of England, with full control of the revenue, except a fixed sum for the civil list, and of the proceeds of land sales. Its acts were subject to the governor's veto. The qualification for the franchise was a *20l.* rental, or a freehold worth *200l.*, and that for members was fixed high in proportion. In the first session of this council Lowe, then a barrister at Sydney, entered upon his political career. The council at once began the work of remodeling the laws in accordance with the wants of the colony. In 1842 municipal government on the English model was established in Sydney, and in 1843 in Melbourne and Geelong, in Port Phillip. The spirit of independence was greatly strengthened in Port Phillip by these free institutions. In 1850 the provisions of the act of 1842 were extended to Tasmania, South Australia, and Victoria. The next year saw the transfer to the colonies of the customs service—a change rendered easy by the adoption of the free trade policy in England in 1846. In 1852 the colonies got control of the gold revenue. Meanwhile the transportation of convicts to the colonies, except Western Australia, had been finally stopped. But in none of the Australian colonies was there as yet established a really responsible government. In fact the home government in 1845 expressly refused to permit the salaried officials of New South Wales to sit in the council, as the members of the cabinet sit in the British Parliament. The sudden importance to which the Australian colonies were raised by the discovery of gold came at the same time with some vigorous efforts which were made in the colonies themselves and by one or two enlightened men at home, for releasing them from the tutelage of the Colonial Office. The undoubted success of the free institutions which Canada, after a long struggle, had wrested from the mother country, lent a strong confirmation to the views of Roebuck and Lowe, and at length, by the same Act of Parliament which established Victoria as a separate colony, known as the Australian Government Act of 1850, Lord John Russell's government enabled the four colonies of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Van Diemen's Land to choose their own form of government, subject to the approval of the imperial government, by means of popular assemblies composed of all the inhabitants who were 10*l.* householders or 100*l.* freeholders. The repeal of the imperial Land Sales Act removed the last check upon the colonial legislatures. The colonies then proceeded to make their own constitutions, which were in the end all framed on the British model, except that Victoria and Tasmania chose to make their upper house elective, as Canada did soon afterward, and as the other Australian colonies, except Queensland and New Zealand, have done. The constitutions were everywhere completed about the same time; the first real parliament of New South Wales met in June, 1856. Members of the upper house are appointed by the Crown for life.

The general features of the new constitutions in all the colonies were a broad franchise, extending in South Australia to manhood suffrage, some restrictive qualifications for members of the lower house, an upper house appointed by the Crown in New South Wales and New Zealand, and elected in the other colonies by a narrow franchise, holding office for life in New South Wales and subject to a gradual rotation in the other colonies on the model of the senate of the United States. In practice it has been found that only the elective upper houses have had much power or influence. Parliaments were to be elected every five years and in South Australia every three years, unless sooner dissolved. A session was to be held at least once in every year. The executive power was to be exercised by ministers responsible to the colonial parliaments on the English model, though this is not very clearly expressed, being left rather to implication and tradition, as in truth it is in England mainly a matter of custom and not of positive law. The practice of "responsible government" in this fashion was, of course, wholly unknown in Australia, and the vagueness of the provisions upon this subject may be due to the fact that it was not clearly understood there. The New Zealand Constitution had no reference whatever to responsible government, though the practice was introduced there as in other colonies.

The provisions of the Constitution Act did not extend to West Australia, but representative institutions like those of the other colonies were promised to it when it should become entirely self-supporting. When the transportation of convicts to Western Australia ceased a movement to this end was begun, resulting in the creation, in 1870, of a legislative council partly nominated by the Crown and partly elected by the people. The colony thereafter made steady progress and in 1890 an imperial statute granted to it a legislature of two houses with responsible government. The colony of Queensland, from its erection in 1859 out of the territory of New South Wales, was endowed with full responsible government on the model of the parent colony. The general political tendency since the introduction of responsible government in the colonies has been distinctively democratic, resulting in manhood suffrage, and in some colonies extending the franchise to women also, in voting by ballot, in shorter terms of parliament, and in the payment of members. The power of the upper chambers has been an obstacle to the smooth working of the system of responsible government, since a ministry is responsible to the lower house, but cannot carry its measures if they are blocked by the upper house. Various devices have been adopted to cure this evil; among them may be noted that of South Australia, where if a measure has passed the lower house in two successive parliaments, a general election having intervened, the governor may dissolve both houses at once or issue new writs for one or two members of each constituency of the upper house. This device recalls the power of the ministry in England, acting in the name of the Crown to overcome an adverse majority in the House of Lords by the creation of new peers. Since the complete triumph of democracy in Australia political issues have not been sharply defined. There are, of course, protectionists and free-traders; those who are anxious for the interests of the rich squatter, believing that the prosperity of the country depends entirely upon its wool growing; and those who are anxious to encourage the poor immigrant farmer or "free selector." But the changes of ministry which so often happen in Australia have generally had but little to do with any recognizable body of principles, whether liberal or conservative, and generally depend on local and personal questions. In fact, the responsible government system evolved in England, and admirably suited there. to the existing rivalry of two great parties with definite and conflicting principles, has seemed somewhat ridiculous in its application in Australia. Ministers have been frequently turned out of office for trivial reasons, and the system of an independent executive as practiced in the United States seems to offer far more stability.

The Australian colonies have passed through three well-marked periods of development. From 1788 to 1830 they were sustained by the transportation of convicts thither on a great scale, the number of free immigrants was small and the policy of free grants of land prevailed. From 1830 to 1851 the Wakefield system of land sales was applied with more or less thoroughness, resulting in a rapid increase in free immigration and a high degree of agricultural prosperity. Meanwhile the stream of convicts slackened and at last ceased altogether. Up to the close of the second period there had been very little spontaneous immigration. The country had been peopled by convicts who had come under restraint, and free laborers whose expenses on the journey had been paid out of the proceeds of land sales. All this was about to be changed.

On February 12, 1851, E. H. Hargraves, who had recently returned from a fruitless search for gold in California, discovered alluvial gold deposits in New South Wales and reported the facts to the government. An official examination confirmed the news on May 19, and the rush to the diggings began. Similar discoveries were made in South Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand, but the richest fields were in the newly organized colony of Victoria. Adventurers poured in from the neighboring colonies, and then from all the world. In five years the population of Victoria rose from 70,000 to 300,000. Melbourne outstripped Sydney, speculation became rampant, land sold for extravagant prices, industry in the other colonies was for a time disorganized by the drain of population to the gold fields. From all parts of the world came throngs of men of every class, with a large proportion of doubtful or dangerous elements. This inrush at first imposed great expense on the colonial governments, and at once raised the question of what policy should be followed as to mining on the public lands. To attempt to prevent it would be futile, though the law unquestionably forbade it. The government asserted the old feudal doctrine that all gold found on either public or private lands belonged to the Crown, but offered to grant licenses to dig on public lands for a small fee, thus providing a revenue and preserving the title of the Crown. Digging on private lands without the consent of the owner was prohibited. The license fee for Crown lands was fixed at thirty shillings. No servant or laborer could get a license without producing a certificate of discharge from his last service. Commissioners for the gold fields were appointed to administer the license system and maintain order.

The new colony of Victoria felt the strain of the gold rush most severely. It reached its absolute maximum there, and its relative magnitude was greater still, so that the old population was in a few years fairly swamped by the newcomers. The squatters having the first right to purchase their runs, and fearing that the diggings would entice away their laborers, resented the intrusion of the miners, forgetting that their own rights had been acquired in a similar manner. Civil servants resigned and the police deserted wholesale to share in the search for gold, and could not be restrained by the payment of higher salaries and wages. Military aid was asked from England. The land fund and digging license fees were transferred to the colony to help meet the deficit. The miners were not represented in the legislature, and resented the exaction of any license fee at all. Though the fee was reduced, they were not content. A murder and an attempt at lynching precipitated an outbreak at Eureka. The miners entrenched themselves in a stockade and defied the government. On November 30, 1854, the stockade was taken by assault. Thirty miners were killed and 120 captured, but such was the state of public sentiment in the colony that all were acquitted in spite of conclusive evidence of guilt.

In 1885 the government was forced to abolish the license fee, replacing it with an export duty on gold. In lieu of the fee a miner was now required to pay 1*l.* for a "miner's right" or permission to occupy for mining purposes a specific piece of Crown land for one year. The new system was successful. It produced a sufficient revenue and restored order in the gold fields, where a new system of local government adapted to local needs was inaugurated.

Among other evils the discovery of gold brought an alarming immigration of Chinese, thereby beginning a troublesome race problem in Australia. The drain of population from the lesser colonies, especially Tasmania, was at first alarming, but after a time the prosperity of Victoria was diffused among all the other colonies, which found there a ready market for their products. In the decade ending in 1861 the population of all the colonies, excluding New Zealand, rose from 479,199 to 1,167,481; of Victoria from 76,162 to 541,800; of New South Wales from 265,503 to 358,378. Victoria long remained the most populous, wealthy, and enterprising of all the colonies, but in 1899 New South Wales had regained her old superiority in population and trade.

The union of the Australian colonies in a confederation followed the attainment of complete self-government by them after a delay of nearly half a century. The idea was suggested in England as early as 1850, and occasional colonial conferences upon the subject were held without result until 1880. In that year there was an important conference of all the colonies, including New Zealand, at Sydney, caused by the claims made by France to the island group known as the New Hebrides. The first step toward federation was now taken. A federal council was established with legislative power over a few subjects of general interest, such as fisheries, intercolonial legal process, and the influx of criminals. This scheme was enacted by the British Parliament August 14, 1885, and adopted by all the colonies except New South Wales and New Zealand. The first meeting of the council took place February 5, 1886. Meetings were held in 1888, 1889, and in every odd numbered year from 1891 to 1899. The colony of Fiji, which had been recently established in the island group of that name, was entitled to representation in the council, but was in fact unrepresented after the first meeting. The council passed laws, but had no power in enforcing them, and was thus a body not unlike the American Congress under the Articles of Confederation, but with much less legislative power. The next step was taken in 1887, when a colonial conference was held in London, at which all the British possessions were represented and an agreement for defensive measures was adopted. The colonies were to contribute 126,000*l.* a year, apportioned among them according to population, for the support of an auxiliary fleet on the Australian station. This agreement was ratified by the five continental colonies, Tasmania, and New Zealand, and on September 5, 1891, the fleet arrived at Sydney. The London conference had suggested the appointment of an imperial commissioner on the land defenses of Australia. His report was made on October 9, 1889, and shortly thereafter Sir Henry Parkes of New South Wales suggested to the colony of Victoria a convention to frame a federal constitution. This resulted in a conference at Melbourne February 6, 1890, composed of the federal council with delegates from New South Wales and New Zealand, which resolved that a federal government having executive and legislative powers should be established, embracing the remoter Australasian colonies on terms to be agreed upon later. The colonial legislatures were to appoint delegates to a federal convention for this purpose. On March 2, 1891, this convention met at Sydney, the five continental colonies, Tasmania, and New Zealand being represented. Sir Henry Parkes introduced resolutions looking to the preservation of state rights, the establishment of interstate free trade, a federal customs tariff, and federal defense. These objects were to be attained by a government consisting of a senate and house of representatives, a supreme court, a governor general, and a ministry responsible to the house of representatives. On March 31, 1891, the constitutional committee reported a draft constitution, which was afterward adopted by the convention with few changes and referred to the parliaments of the several colonies, to be submitted to the people of each for approval, and to be put in force by the home government when ratified by three colonies. The convention adjourned April 9, 1891. The chief obstacles to agreement in the convention had been the rivalry of the big and little states, the opposition of the high tariff and low tariff states, and the question of the proper methods for the distribution of the surplus revenue by the proposed commonwealth among the states. The populous colonies of New South Wales and Victoria were opposed to equal representation in the senate, or, if that were conceded, they wished to diminish the power of the senate over bills appropriating money. The free trade colony of New South Wales was apprehensive that the new government would impose upon it the protective system of the colony of Victoria, and would collect from it a larger proportion of federal revenue than would be returned under the distribution plan. The proposed constitution was debated without exciting very much interest in the colonial parliaments, and finally put aside without action in New South Wales. The apprehensions of the free-traders and the representatives of the labor party and the general jealousy of the smaller colonies were fatal to the scheme.

In 1893 the cause of federation received new impetus in the formation of the Federation League, with a systematic popular propaganda independent of the governments of the several colonies. This resulted in a conference of colonial premiers at Hobart in Tasmania, January 29, 1895, where the plan proposed by the Federation League was adopted. This was a federal convention composed of delegates elected directly by the people of each colony, the constitution planned thereby to be submitted to the people of each colony for ratification. In accordance with the agreement of the premiers, legislation to this effect was enacted in each colony, save that in Western Australia the delegates were to be chosen by the parliament. The first session of the convention began March 2, 1897, at Adelaide in South Australia. Preliminary resolutions like those of the convention of 1891 were voted and committees duly appointed. The draft of the constitution followed very closely that of 1891. The convention adjourned April 22 to meet again September 2, and in accordance with the plan the draft constitution was in the meantime submitted to the legislatures of the several colonies for suggestions. In all 286 amendments were thus suggested. For the most part they were concerned with the respective powers of the big and little states, the distribution of federal revenue among the states, the control of the great rivers for navigation and irrigation, the control of the state railroads to prevent discrimination, the power of the senate over money bills, and schemes to prevent a deadlock between the senate and the house of representatives. The convention held its second session in Sydney, New South Wales, from September 2 to September 24, 1897, and adjourned to meet again at Melbourne. The suggested amendments were considered, but comparatively few changes were made in the original draft. In the meantime the anti-federalists of New South Wales became alarmed at the progress the movement was making, and passed an act requiring at least 80,000 affirmative votes for the ratification of the constitution by that colony. The Melbourne session of the convention extended from January 20 to March 17, 1898. The matter exciting the greatest controversy was the control of the great river system. New South Wales had embarked in irrigation enterprises on the upper course of the rivers, while South Australia was interested in navigation on the lower courses. Another subject of controversy was that of railway rates. Much of the territory of New South Wales was nearer to Melbourne, the port of Victoria, than to Sydney. The state railways of both colonies competed for the traffic of this region, and there was great jealousy between them on this account. Victoria wanted discrimination in rates prohibited so that the traffic would seek its natural outlet at Melbourne. To New South Wales this seemed to be a sacrifice of the interests of that colony to those of Victoria, but at last it was agreed that an interstate commission should have power to prevent undue discrimination in rates. There was now jealousy over the question of the federal capital. New South Wales wanted it fixed at Sydney, and Victoria preferred Melbourne. It was finally provided that the capital should be in federal territory. On account of the peculiar difficulties of Western Australia it was agreed that its duties on goods from other colonies should be temporarily maintained though gradually lessened and finally abolished at the end of five years.

The Constitution was now referred to the people of the several colonies. The only formidable opposition was in New South Wales. After a campaign of eleven weeks the vote was taken in all the participating colonies except Western Australia, and showed a majority for ratification in each, but in New South Wales the affirmative vote fell 8405 short of the prescribed 80,000. The federation movement seemed to have met a second decisive defeat, but its advocates did not despair. The positive majority in New South Wales was encouraging and a general parliamentary election in that colony gave additional encouragement. The New South Wales ministry now proposed certain amendments, and it was agreed at a meeting of the premiers of six colonies at Melbourne, where for the first time Queensland was represented, that the amendments should be submitted to the parliaments of each colony for reference to a popular vote. This plan was rejected by the upper house of New South Wales, whereupon the ministry appointed twelve new members in the House and thus passed the bill. After a campaign of eight weeks the vote was taken in New South Wales June 20, 1899, resulting as follows: for the Constitution 107,420, against 82,741. South Australia ratified April 29, 65,990 to 17,053; Victoria on July 27, 152,653 to 9805; Tasmania on the same day by 13,437 to 791; Queensland on September 2, 38,488 to 30,996. Western Australia took no action at this time. In the five colonies which had ratified the Constitution an address to the queen was prepared, petitioning for its enactment by the British Parliament.

A conference of colonial delegates in London was the next step. Here Western Australia and even New Zealand were represented, though they had not ratified the Constitution, nor had New Zealand had any share in the movement. The imperial government raised many objections to the Constitution as planned, and amendments were suggested by Western Australia and New Zealand. The colonial secretary, Joseph Chamberlain, abandoned most of his objections, but suggested certain amendments by a telegram to a conference of colonial premiers at Melbourne, who replied that they had no authority to accept amendments. The imperial government then yielded all points except the question of appeal to the privy council in England. The Constitution as planned had forbidden appeals on purely Australian questions, and had empowered the federal parliament to regulate or prohibit appeals on all questions. It was now provided that as to Australian questions there could be no appeal without leave of the Australian High Court, and that legislation affecting the right of appeal in other cases should be reserved by the governor general for the sovereign's assent. Thus modified, the Constitution was enacted by the British Parliament in the Australian Constitution Act, 1900, which received the queen's assent on July 9 of that year. On July 31, Western Australia ratified the Constitution by a vote of 44,800 to 19,691. The queen's proclamation of September 17 fixed January 1, 1901, for the inauguration of the new government, and on September 21 the Earl of Hopetoun was commissioned as the first governor general of the commonwealth.

In its general features the Constitution resembles that of the United States except that the executive power is in the hands of ministers responsible to the lower house of parliament as in England. The title of the federation is the Commonwealth of Australia, and the several colonies are called states. Legislative power is vested in a federal parliament, consisting of the king, represented by the governor general, a senate, and a house of representatives. There are six senators from each of the six original states, elected by the people of the states for the term of six years, subject to dissolution by the governor general under certain circumstances. Ordinarily one-half of the senators are elected every three years. The members of the house of representatives are elected by the people in each state for a term not exceeding three years, but the house may be dissolved or the parliament prorogued at any time by the governor general. Members of the house of representatives are apportioned among the several states according to population, excluding all persons of any race disqualified by state law from voting. Senators and representatives are paid by the commonwealth. The parliament has wide-reaching legislative powers, extending to many matters not expressly within the legislative power of the Congress of the United States. Among these are: bounties on production and export of goods; banking, except state banking within the limits of the state; the incorporation of banks and the issue of paper money; insurance, except state insurance within the limits of the state; weights and measures; bills of exchange and promissory notes; corporations; telegraphs and telephones; marriage and divorce; invalid and old age pensions; races for whom special laws may be made, except the aborigines; relations with the Pacific Islands; acquisition of state railways with the consent of the state; railway construction in any state on the same terms; industrial conciliation and arbitration; matters specially referred to the federal parliament by any state or states subject to the consent of all states affected. The senate cannot originate or amend money bills, but may suggest amendments therein; in other respects the two houses have equal power, but if the senate refuses to pass a house measure or amends it unacceptably to the house and repeats this action after three months, the governor general may dissolve both houses simultaneously; if the deadlock is repeated after the general election, the governor general may convene a joint session of both houses, wherein a majority of the whole number of senators and representatives shall be necessary to pass any of the proposed amendments or the original measure. The governor general may return any measure passed by the parliament and suggest amendments therein. The executive power is vested in the king, and is exercised by the governor general with the advice of the executive council, which is composed of the heads of the executive departments, who are the king's ministers of state for the commonwealth and must be members of parliament. The judicial power is vested in a High Court of Australia and in inferior federal or other courts, as the parliament shall determine. Judges of the federal courts hold their offices during good behavior, have fixed salaries and are appointed by the governor general in council. Appeals to the English privy council from the high court as to the constitutional powers of the commonwealth or of any state cannot be taken without leave of the high court. Appeals in other matters may be limited by parliament with the king's assent. An interstate commission is to execute the laws of the commonwealth concerning trade and commerce; such laws may extend to navigation, shipping, and state railways, but must not give a preference to one state over another nor abridge the right of any state or its people to the reasonable use of the waters of rivers for conservation or irrigation; they may forbid undue discrimination by any state railways, having due regard to the financial responsibilities incurred in the construction and maintenance of such railways.

For ten years the commonwealth shall not expend more than one-fourth of the net annual revenue from duties of customs and excise. The surplus is to be distributed among the states. For five years the distribution is to be in proportion to contribution to the fund, thereafter upon a fair basis. The commonwealth may grant financial aid to a state and may take over state debts. Powers not delegated by the Constitution to the commonwealth, nor prohibited to the state, are reserved to the states. States may surrender territory to the exclusive jurisdiction of the commonwealth. New states may be admitted upon such terms, including representation in parliament, as the parliament thinks fit. Parliament may make laws for territory surrendered to the commonwealth by any state, or otherwise acquired. The seat of government shall be on federal territory within the state of New South Wales, but distant at least one hundred miles from Sydney. The area of such territory shall be not less than one hundred square miles. Parliament is to sit at Melbourne until the seat of government is established. Amendments to the Constitution must be approved by an absolute majority of each house of parliament and ratified by a majority of the electors voting thereon in a majority of the states and a majority of the electors voting thereon in all the states; and if either house twice presses a proposed amendment at an interval of three months or more, the other house disagreeing thereto, the governor general may submit it to the voters for ratification in like manner. But the proportionate representation of the states in parliament, and the boundaries of the states are unalterable without the consent of a majority of the electors voting in the state affected by and proposed change therein.

The commonwealth was proclaimed at Sydney January 1, 1901, and the parliament proceeded to organize the new government. Among its acts of legislation may be noted the organization of the postal and telegraph service; prohibition of the immigration of Pacific Island laborers; general restrictions on immigration, especially of non-European races; imposition of excise duties on beer, spirits, starch, sugar, and tobacco; imposition of import duties on stimulants, narcotics, agricultural products, and a long list of manufactured articles; provisions for the service of process and for the recognition of state laws and records.

New Zealand has now but little to do with Australia, from which it is over a thousand miles distant, but its history is closely connected with that of New South Wales, to which colony all the settlements in these parts once belonged. Governor Bourke was succeeded at Sydney in 1838 by Governor Gipps, and his administration will be remembered as that in which the first regular settlements were made in the North Island of the New Zealand group. The three islands, called North Island, South Island, and Stewart Island, had long been known to English sailors. The natives, called Maoris, were the most ferocious race of cannibals ever known, but far superior in social organization and in character to the degraded aborigines of Australia. The European intercourse with them for sixty years from the time of Cook consisted merely of cruel war, carried on by the English with the object of extirpating so odious a race, and by the natives among themselves and against the English for revenge and plunder. By degrees, however, the Maoris came to Port Jackson, and the chaplain, Dr. Marsden, always made friends with them and entertained them in his house, though he had difficulty in restraining them from slaying and eating each other under his very eyes. Marsden afterward went to New Zealand to labor as a missionary. In 1814 a famous warrior among them, called Hongi Hika, was tempted to visit Sydney; and in 1820 he came to England. Though a savage, he ever afterward protected the Europeans, and encouraged the missionaries, and after his time the communication between Sydney and New Zealand greatly increased. Many Maoris visited Europe and America; the whaling stations became centers of traffic; European adventurers and outlaws gradually settled among the natives beyond the protection and restraint of any regular government; and at the same time the introduction of firearms by Hongi in his wars enabled the natives to exterminate each other faster than ever. In 1814 missionaries began to labor among the natives, and the governor of New South Wales appointed magistrates in the islands to restrain the unruly whites. In 1817 an English statute gave to the colonial courts jurisdiction of crimes committed there by British subjects. Europeans now began to buy land from the natives for growing flax; but the first batch of colonists, who were settled by the government in 1825, to forestall the French, at a cost of 20,000*l.*, were so scared by the war-dances of the natives that they fled from the place. In 1833 James Busby was appointed resident magistrate with very limited powers. The colonization of the island was afterward entrusted by the government to a New Zealand company established in England in 1839 on the Wakefield system, and chartered in 1841. The Wakefield family entered heartily into the movement. In 1839 Colonel Wakefield's party established themselves at Port Nicholson on the strait which divides the islands, and thus was begun the settlement of Wellington. The government was thus forced to act. The commission of Governor Gipps was amended to include New Zealand and he immediately asserted his jurisdiction there by proclamation, and announced that the government would not recognize any claim to land bought from the Maoris without the sanction of the Crown. Captain Hobson was appointed lieutenant governor. He arrived in New Zealand in January, 1840, and found a motley company of Europeans at Kororareka. This settlement was soon after removed to the beautiful bay on which Auckland now stands. The situation confronting the new governor was a difficult one. The Maoris did not recognize private property in land, but had very clear and definite notions of tribal ownership. To assume that the title to the soil was vested in the British Crown, as had been done in Australia, would have provoked a race war, for the tribes were passionately attached to their lands. The Maoris distinguished clearly the difference between sovereignty and ownership, and the lieutenant governor sought to procure from the chiefs a recognition of British sovereignty. In this he was successful. By the Treaty of Waitangi, signed February 6, 1840, the chiefs ceded to the British Crown all their rights and powers of sovereignty in New Zealand in return for a guaranty to the chiefs and tribes of all their property rights in their lands, estates, forests, and fisheries. In case the tribes wished to sell their lands only the Crown could buy them. The Marois were taken under the protection of the queen and given all the rights of British subjects. Governor Hobson, in 1840, proclaimed British sovereignty over the whole group. In the same year the New Zealand Company's settlers at Port Nicholson attempted to organize an independent government of their own and claimed lands by purchase from the Maoris. A portion of these claims, covering 110,000 acres, was allowed. Several other settlements were soon afterward formed, the chief of which were Nelson, in the South Island, and New Plymouth, on the western coast of the North Island, and chiefly colonized by Noncomformists. In 1841 the three islands were erected into an independent colony, with Auckland for its capital. There was to be a legislative council appointed by the Colonial Office, and all legislation must be proposed by the governor and approved by the Colonial Office. On February 12, 1841, the New Zealand Company was chartered in England with a capital of 300,000*l.* It was to be managed by a court [1] of proprietors and a court of directors in England, with agents and local boards in the colony. A free grant of one acre was promised for every five shillings spent in colonization by the company. Meanwhile the new colonial government was inaugurated and the legislative council passed an ordinance providing for a commission to investigate claims to Crown lands. No titles were to be allowed until approved by the government, which might, however, on the recommendation of the commission, approve purchases previously made from the Maoris. The company continued to buy land without regard to the ordinance. The tribes denounced such purchases as invalid. Governor Hobson's successor yielded to the company and a race war broke out.

Sir George Grey, who had been so successful in South Australia, was in 1845 appointed as governor, and his firmness and wisdom saved the colony from a disastrous war. After setting in order the disorganized finances, he took up the native question. First promising to abide by the Treaty of Waitangi, he stopped the sale of firearms to the Maoris, appointed several chiefs to office, and by the help of Maori allies crushed the resistance of the hostile tribes. Resident magistrates were appointed to administer justice in native cases; the proceedings of the former governor permitting land purchases were disallowed, and the occupation of land under a Maori title made punishable by fine. Instructions from England less favorable to the Maoris in the matter of their lands remained unenforced until the remonstrances of the governor, the chief justice, and the Bishop of New Zealand caused them to be revoked. In 1846 the British Parliament enacted an elaborate and unsuitable constitution for New Zealand, which Governor Grey declined to put in force. His remonstrance forced its repeal. In 1848, by authority of an Act of Parliament, the great South Island, where there were but few Maoris, was purchased for the benefit of the New Zealand Company.

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[1] The word "court" was used in the same sense in the American colonies and still survives in the name "General Court," borne by the legislature of Massachusetts.

We have already sketched the beginnings of four of the provinces of New Zealand—Auckland, Wellington, Nelson, and New Plymouth. These were not all placed in the best situations, and they have been eclipsed in wealth and importance by some that have been more recently formed. All these settlements were formed under the direction of Wakefield, and, from their isolation, their original character has remained impressed upon them more strongly than upon South Australia. Among Wakefield's clever devices was a notion, borrowed from American history, of sending out bodies of colonists of the same religious persuasion to different parts. Thus he had located a number of Nonconformists at New Plymouth; he now (1848) shipped off a number of Scotch Presbyterians to Otago in South Island; and he advertised a colony of Episcopalians for a settlement in the same island to be called Canterbury, with a capital town to be called Christchurch. He sold the land everywhere as high as he could; but here he proposed to build and endow cathedrals and churches out of the purchase money, which was fixed as high as 3*l.* an acre. For this colony he obtained a special charter in 1850; and it turned out more of a success than might have been expected, though the expectations of the colonists have not been completely satisfied. In 1851 the New Zealand Company was dissolved and the Crown empowered to provide for the government of its settlements. There were now six regular colonies on the coast of New Zealand, and the Conservative British Government framed a federal constitution for them in 1852. Each was to have its provincial institutions, besides which there was to be a nominated legislative council and a house of representatives, elected by people possessing a property qualification, for the whole colony. Power was given to constitute fresh provinces as the population should increase; and the six provinces were soon increased to nine by the addition of Hawke's Bay, formed out of the old province of Wellington in 1858, Marlborough, detached from Nelson in 1859, and Southland, formerly part of Otago, which was formed in 1861, only to be reunited to Otago in 1870. Its place was taken by Westland, the portion of Canterbury on the western coast cut off by a high range of mountains. The discovery of gold there in 1867 led to its organization as a county, and in 1873 it was erected into a province. In 1859 the province of New Plymouth took the name Taranaki. But the Constitution of 1852 turned out to be a great blunder. Difficulties arose in the administration of the provinces. The government of the provincial councils was notoriously costly and inefficient, and was becoming unnecessary, as the work of local administration was taken up by municipal corporations. Moreover, provincial jealousies diminished as means of intercommunication were improved. For a long time there were conflicts of opinion between the Ultra-Provincialists, who wished each province to become a separate colony, the Separatists, who were for a separate colony in each island, Auckland being the capital of the North, and Christchurch or Dunedin, of the South Island, and the Centralists, who wished for the abolition of the provincial governments and the substitution of counties, as in England and America, the seat of government remaining at Wellington, whither it had been removed from Auckland in 1865. The last party prevailed; in 1875 the provincial distinctions were abolished by the colonial legislature and the central government was established, exactly as had been recommended by Roebuck a quarter century before. The New Zealand Islands are now divided into counties, like the United Kingdom.

The constitutional development of New Zealand has followed the same lines as that of the Australian colonies. Government by a ministry responsible to the legislature had not been provided for by the imperial statute of 1852. Yet this system was established almost immediately. Governor Grey left the islands before the new Constitution was fully in force, and his successor was confronted at the first session of the general assembly by a vote demanding responsible government. In the following year (July, 1855) the home government yielded and the new system was put in force without any imperial legislation. It is a peculiarity of New Zealand constitutional practice that cabinet ministers after their appointment need not stand for reëlection to the general assembly. The democratic drift has been as strong here as elsewhere in Australasia. The tenure of members of the legislative council has been reduced from life to seven years. The house of representatives are elected for six years. The governor may summon, prorogue, and dissolve the general assembly, and the executive power is in the hands of eight responsible ministers. Property qualifications for voting and for membership in the house of representatives have been abolished, and the suffrage has been extended to women. The Maoris are represented in the general assembly on a substantial equality with the whites. The control of native affairs was retained by the imperial government until 1863, though there was constant pressure by the general assembly against this restriction of its powers, accompanied by repeated attempts on the part of the whites to purchase land from individual Maoris, without the sanction of the tribe affected. This led to hostilities in 1860, and Sir George Grey was again appointed governor. He arrived in 1861 and recommended that native affairs be handed over to the Colonial ministers, which was accordingly done. The assembly decreed military government in the disaffected districts and the confiscation of the lands of the hostile tribes. The war dragged on until 1866. It was renewed in 1868 under Grey's successor, but resistance was at an end the next year. In spite of the confiscation policy the Maoris in 1871 still held nearly three-quarters of the area in the North Island. In the great South Island their holdings had always been small.

New Zealand is distant 1200 miles from the Australian continent. It extends nearly a thousand miles from north to south and is 200 miles across at its broadest part, and the coast line is 3000 miles long, with many good harbors. The climate is temperate except in the semitropical north. The soil is fertile and well watered, the scenery beautiful and inspiring, the natural resources of the country rich and varied. The growth of the colony has been steady without the artificial stimulus of penal settlements or gold fever. The settlers have been for the most part middle-class people of moderate property who brought their families with them to the new land and thus founded a stable society where wealth has been widely distributed from the first. The population in 1911 was 1,008,468.

New Zealand, and the Australian colonies in a less degree, have become notable in late years for the application of state socialism to many phases of industry. State ownership and operation of railways and telegraphs, progressive taxes on incomes, property, and inheritances, restriction upon the area of land holdings, the fixing of a minimum wage by law, invalid and old-age pensions, courts of industrial conciliation and arbitration, are some of the measures adopted. This movement has provoked the adverse criticism of conservative economists, who point to the heavy increase of government expenditure and debt, the small immigration and the withdrawal of English capital as its direct effects. The financial crisis of 1893 was a severe check to industrial progress in that part of the world, and it is not possible to form a final judgment upon this policy as yet. Its advocates attribute existing financial and economic evils to the crisis rather than to the measures in question, and point to reviving prosperity in proof. That the experiment should have been tried by Anglo-Saxons, a race devoted to individual liberty, is itself an instructive fact.

The success of the British colonization of Australasia is astonishing. As a piece of nation building, oversea history shows no parallel. It is a striking demonstration of the colonizing capacity of the race. The mistakes committed by the English in North America have been avoided here, and progress has been correspondingly steady and rapid, though circumstances were less favorable save in two respects—the absence of a strong and warlike native population and of the competition of any European rival.

The Australian nation begins its career with abundant natural resources and accumulated wealth; with a population of more than four millions, singularly free from non-European and even non-British elements, confident in their strength, attached to the British Empire, and jealously regarding the colonial enterprises of other European races in the Pacific. Their kinsmen in New Zealand, over a million strong, share their confidence and national sentiment and will probably enter the new union. Let us cast our eyes over the map of Australia, beginning with the eastern shore. Traveling south from the tropical clime of North Queensland we shall pass by a line of coast nearly three thousand miles long. As the climate becomes more temperate we gradually find the coast occupied right up to the distant mountain ranges, and for many hundreds of miles beyond them, by English colonists, living under a free local government of their own, and divided into four state governments, having their seats at Brisbane, Sydney, Melbourne, and Adelaide. All these ports, and several others, are connected by railways with the uplands beyond the mountains. Opposite Victoria lies the Island of Tasmania, forming a fifth state. The sixth is Western Australia, on the far distant western coast. All are now united in a great federal commonwealth. The great southeastern part of Australia is the best portion of the island, for most of the central and western parts consist of sandy and stony deserts and salt marshes. The further growth of the Australian settlements must clearly not be looked for in that direction, though it leads to the Cape of Good Hope and to Europe. The course of colonization, in fact, has now reached its tropic or turning-point. Australia really faces round from Europe to meet the kindred civilization of America on the one hand, and the trade of the Indian Archipelago and China on the other. It is in the direction of America that the colony of New Zealand has been formed; and it seems likely that from America on the one side and from Australia on the other, colonists will go on settling in many of the numberless islands of the Pacific Ocean. An important step in this direction was taken in 1874 by the British Government. Acting on the representations of the Australians, they took possession in that year of the Fiji Islands, more than two hundred in number, where many sugar and cotton planters had already settled. The way for colonization had already been prepared by Christian missionaries, both from America and from Europe; and it is impossible to say how far the movement may have extended in another century, when the wealth and population of America and Australia have become better developed and consolidated. Northward the communication with the Indian Ocean has been begun by the Adelaide telegraph, and this will in time be followed by a railway. Settlements have been made on the northern shore, and the British Government has taken possession of the adjoining parts of the vast island of New Guinea with an area nearly half as great as France and a population of 350,000. This dependency is administered by the commonwealth. Pacific colonization is apparently the next phase of colonial enterprise. The richness of the soil of the countless Indian and Pacific islands, the facilities for government and for intercommunication afforded by their position, the native labor with which they abound, and more than all, the immense increase during the last few years of ocean navigation by large steamships, are now attracting to them the attention of the world. It seems likely that the great world of the Pacific, including the shores of China, Japan, Australia, and America, as well as the islands in its bosom, may one day vie with the world that is washed by the Atlantic in prosperity and civilization. If this should ever come to pass, men will then say that the circle of history is complete.

Australia was in the midst of a bitter political conflict when the World War began. Five days earlier both houses of Parliament had been dissolved and an election was set for September 17, 1914. The Liberals under Premier Cook had a majority in the old House of Representatives and his ministry held office until after the election, which was won by the Labor Party under the leadership of Andrew Fisher, who became Prime Minister. Meanwhile, however, Australia had thrown her full strength to the support of Great Britain. Of all the British overseas possessions Australia was perhaps the best prepared for military effort. This was due to the Universal Military Training Act of 1910, which had brought into being a reserve force of 22,000 militiamen, some 55,000 skilled marksmen and about 90,000 cadets.

An expeditionary force of 20,000 men left Australia for Egypt in November. This contribution was quickly augmented and by July, 1915, Australia had sent 100,000 men to the battlefields. The Australians, with the smaller New Zealand contingent, won enduring fame in the Gallipoli campaign, where the courage and stamina of the "Anzacs" was demonstrated. Australia contributed in all 329,883 troops. Of this total, casualties reached the appalling figure of 314,078, including 59,302 deaths from wounds and disease. It is estimated that the war expenditures of Australia were more than £338,000,000.

In 1915, Andrew Fisher was appointed High Commissioner for Australia in London and was succeeded as Prime Minister by W. Morris Hughes, who made a marked impression at home and abroad by his vigorous utterances in support of the war. While in Great Britain in 1916, Premier Hughes advocated conscription, but encountered so much opposition on his return home that he submitted the question to a referendum. As a result conscription was defeated and the Labor Party disrupted. After a second defeat at the polls, Mr. Hughes formed a National War Government and created a Nationalist Party that kept him in power until the election of 1922, when he relinquished office to Stanley Melbourne Bruce.

Premier Hughes again visited Europe in 1918, and represented Australia at the Peace Conference, where he was most emphatic in presenting Australia's claims. Australia's status at the Peace Conference and subsequently in the League of Nations was similar to that of the other British Dominions, and in 1920 the League mandated the former German possessions in the Pacific to Australia.

These include Kaiser Wilhelm's Land, the Bismarck Archipelago and the Solomon Islands.

Prime Minister Bruce participated in the Imperial Conference in London in 1923, where he forcefully presented the claims of the Commonwealth. One of the fixed policies of successive leaders of Australia has been the maintenance of "White Australia." As explained by Prime Minister Bruce this policy simply means that Australia is determined to preserve her racial integrity, and, while she encourages immigration, newcomers are strictly limited to peoples capable of being welded into a racially homogeneous nation. In her efforts to carry out this policy Australia found herself at odds with the Labor government of Great Britain over establishing a naval base at Singapore, Australia having sought added security through greater naval protection. The Commonwealth was represented at the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Naval Armament by George Foster Pearce, Minister for Home and Territories. Australia's immigration laws closely resemble those passed by the United States Congress in 1921.

As a result of the national compulsory voting act, effective in the general election of 1925, ninety per cent of the eligible voters cast their ballots. The penalty for failure to vote consists of a fine of $10. The Nationalist-Country coalition government, of which Mr. Bruce was the head, won the 1925 election, and he applied himself to improving economic conditions. One of the chief needs of the vast territory is for irrigation. Projects for storing water from the River Murray promise to solve this problem so far as New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia are concerned. Another great need is better transportation. Mileage of government railways in 1925 was 24,845, but a new trans-continental railroad of over 1,000 miles, and running north and south, was projected. The reconstruction of railroads, to establish a standard gauge on all the Australian lines, continues at a total cost estimated at more than £57,000,000. As a result of serious strikes in 1925, Lord Stonehaven made the relations of state and industry the subject of his speech at the opening of the Federal Parliament early in January, 1926. During this same year Premier Bruce secured authorization for the appointment of a commission to make an exhaustive study of the resources of the country to determine the amount of immigration that could be assimilated.

On May 9, 1927, Australia's new capital, Canberra, was formally dedicated. The British Crown was represented by the Duke of York, son of the Duke of York (now George V.), who had inaugurated the Federal Australian Parliament twenty-seven years before. The creation of the Australian capital was authorized by an act of 1900, one of the last important documents signed by Queen Victoria. The act set aside an "area of not less than one hundred square miles in New South Wales, not less than one hundred miles distant from Sydney," as a federal district. A favorable site with hill, valley, lake and river was found, and a world competition was held for monumental plans for a model capital. The competition was won by Walter Burley Griffin, an American. Work on the new capital progressed but slowly for many years, but new interest was aroused in the project following the dedication.

Late in 1927 Sir Hugh Denison, Australian Commissioner to the United States, resigned from that post. He implied that the system of representation between the two countries was not satisfactory and that a diplomatic service like that of Canada and the Irish Free State would be instituted.

The 1927 estimate of the population of Australia was 6,139,882. Though such a population is small for extensive mass production at home, the Australian government is encouraging domestic manufacture through a liberal tariff policy which, in turn, is attracting foreign investment to industries in the Commonwealth.

New Zealand, which was changed from a Colony to a British Dominion in 1907, put into effect a universal military service act applicable to men within certain ages, in 1911. When the World War began, a New Zealand Expeditionary Force of 8,000 was immediately organized. On August 29 a small contingent of New Zealanders, escorted by the warships Australia and Melbourne, landed in German Samoa, taking over the territory without a struggle. New Zealand continued her support of the Empire as the war progressed. In February, 1915, the third contingent of Maori troops was sent to Egypt, making the approximate total of troops sent so far to the war zones 12,000. An extremely strong anti-German feeling had sprung up in the Dominion since the beginning of the war. Illustrations of this feeling were the demand made upon the Government that the importation of German, Austrian and Turkish goods be absolutely prohibited and that a levy of £500 be collected from every German admitted into the country. New Zealand forces participated in the Gallipoli campaign, in France and in Palestine, where they fought with great distinction. A compulsory military service law was passed in 1916, but more than 100,000 men had the previous year voluntarily registered for active service. New Zealand actually sent 100,444 troops overseas. The total casualties reported in 1918 were 57,932, of whom 16,500 were killed and only 45 were taken prisoners. Included in the New Zealand Expeditionary Force was a Maori Battalion made up of native warriors who displayed unusual courage and received a magnificent welcome on their return home. The total cost of the war to the Dominion was estimated at £81,538, 570.

At the outbreak of the war New Zealand was just recovering from serious labor disturbances. A prolonged strike of transport workers, miners and seamen had caused grave financial losses. New Zealand had previously attracted world attention by her advanced legislation dealing with labor and other social problems. An arbitration law to settle industrial disputes was nullified by the workers, who cancelled their registration. The Liberal-Labor government that had ruled New Zealand for years was replaced in 1912 by a Reform Ministry headed by W. F. Massey. The Massey government finally broke the strike by organizing a new union of waterfront and transport workers and sending out ships with volunteer crews. New legislation was subsequently passed to broaden the arbitration laws so that they were made applicable to organized workers and employers not bound by the original statutes.

The Massey Reform Party was in reality a revived Conservative party. The election of December, 1914, gave the Reform ministry only a small majority, and a Reform-Liberal government was formed with Mr. Massey as Prime Minister. The Labor Party refused representation, but all parties supported the war measures, with only minor exceptions. During the war New Zealand shipped to England products valued at £160,000,000. Export of grain, flour and cotton to any destination except the United Kingdom was prohibited. Prices satisfactory to the Dominion were fixed by the Imperial Government, and except for the scarcity of raw materials and supplies caused by trade restrictions, New Zealand enjoyed comparative prosperity during the war. Only a small part of the war loans was raised in London.

Prime Minister Massey made three journeys to England during the war, attending the Imperial Conferences and presenting New Zealand's demand for a voice in defense and foreign policies of the

Empire. These demands were similar to those put forward by the other British Dominions, and were finally met by the Imperial government. Mr. Massey also represented New Zealand at the Peace Conference. The Dominion later became a member of the League of Nations and received a mandate for the administration of Western Samoa. In addition, New Zealand shares responsibility with Great Britain and Australia for the administration of the former German island of Nauru. It was announced late in June, 1919, by Sir James Allen, acting Prime Minister of New Zealand, that the petition drawn up by the inhabitants of Samoa, asking that the administration of the island be handed over to the United States, had been withdrawn. The dissatisfaction among the islanders which had caused the drawing up of this petition was due primarily to the fact that since New Zealand had occupied the island its administration had been a military one. The acting Prime Minister at this time promised that if New Zealand were definitely entrusted with the government of the island a civil administration would be substituted for the military. After 1923 New Zealand became responsible for the government of the Ross Sea region in the Antarctic, and in 1926 took over the government of the Union Islands.

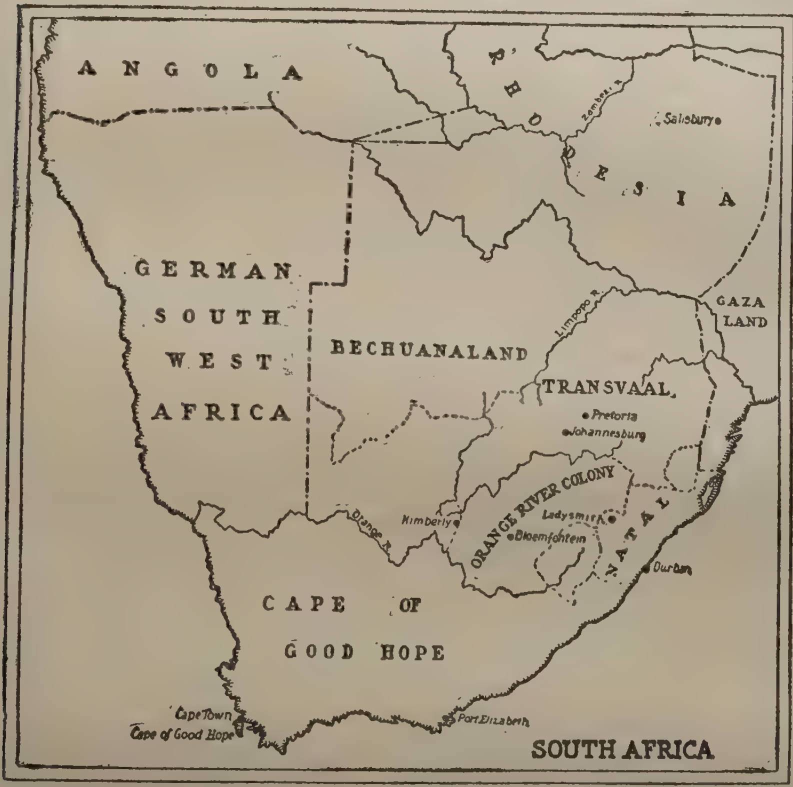
The coalition government under Prime Minister Massey was dissolved in 1919 by the defection of the Liberals, but in the next election the Reform party again won. In common with other countries, New Zealand experienced inflation immediately after the war, and suffered from the inevitable reaction. An economic crisis developed in 1921, with much unemployment and general unrest. The Massey government was threatened for a period, but managed to maintain itself in power. By 1923 conditions had improved. Prime Minister Massey died in Wellington on May 10, 1925. He was succeeded by J. G. Coates, a former member of his Cabinet. A general election in November gave the Reform party, under the Coates leadership, an overwhelming victory.

New Zealand made marked strides following the post-war readjustment. Immigration increased despite the restrictions, which are similar to those of Australia, and many projects for a fuller development of the country were undertaken. Immigration to New Zealand from the British Isles, during the year ending March 31, 1927, was greater than that of any year since 1880 and reached a total of 14,943. The increase in total population during the next year, however, showed a marked retardation, the cause being attributed to a decreased immigration. In 1926 there were 3,158 miles of government railways with 117 miles privately owned. One of the reforms put into effect in that year was the placing of government railroads in an independent financial account, and compelling them to be self-supporting. Always advanced in State Socialism, the New Zealanders after the war developed coöperative organizations in many primary industries. Considerable effort was also expended in the development of water power, and progress was made in manufactures. The bettered economic conditions of 1927, for which year New Zealand had a favorable balance of trade, stimulated activity in various industries, especially in construction. In 1917 the designation of the representative of the British Crown was changed to that of Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief. It was formerly Governor and Commander-in-Chief. General Sir Charles Fergusson was Governor-General in 1928. The census of 1921 gave New Zealand a population of 1,271,664. The area, including outlying islands, is 103,862 square miles.

Chapter XIII

SOUTH AFRICA. 1800-1913

WE have seen how the Dutch East India Company formed their settlement at the Cape, in the middle of the seventeenth century, as a convenient halting place for their vessels, such as the English Company had at the Island of St. Helena. The history of this Dutch settlement would be as unimportant as that of Mombaza or Melinda, but for the fact that many poor Dutchmen settled there and cultivated the soil, as Englishmen had already done in North America. As is usual in a new country, the *boers,* or farmers, suffered great hardships. Sometimes they lived on the flesh of penguins and monkeys, and for stealing a cabbage a man was sentenced to three years' penal servitude. But they throve better in course of time; their cattle multiplied, they brought negroes from Guinea and Malays from Java, and they made slaves of the native Hottentots. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, many French Protestants came and settled near the town of Stellenbosch; they brought with them the vine, and in a few years the vineyards of Constantia had become famous even in Europe. The traffic between Europe and India brought to the Cape many of the waifs and strays of both, and hence the place was early noted for its poor and mixed population. Otherwise the colony attracted little notice. It was tyrannically governed by the officials of the East India Company, and the slaves and Hottentots were cruelly treated by the settlers. Cape Town grew in proportion to the extension of the farms, just as the towns of Australia have since done. The farmers, as they prospered, got tired of living up the country, and came down to the town, leaving the management of their farms to their slaves. Some settlers lived by fishing and petty trading, and others by letting out slaves to work for hire. But there was no getting rich on a large scale, for the Company limited the size of the farms, and kept most of the trade in its own hands. The method under which the holdings of the Boers in South Africa were formed is both interesting in itself as the earliest example of modern agricultural colonization as a regular system, and important for understanding subsequent South African history. The Boers at first never thought of anything like absolute ownership of the soil. The Company allowed each Boer to choose his own place for settling, and to occupy a large space of land, which from its being held on loan or sufferance was called his "loan-place." A central point was fixed, and all the land within half an hour's walk in any direction from it was included in the loan-place. The settler received no title-deeds with his land, but only a written permission to occupy; and of course he could not be expected to make any permanent improvements on a place from which he could be at any moment ejected by some more favored person. To induce the Boers to build houses and cultivate the soil, about 120 acres of land, selected by themselves anywhere within their loan-places, were granted as



freeholds to each. Here the Boer built his house, and planted his vines and his orange trees. His sons also built their houses around in the same way, so that each loan-place gradually became a family colony in itself, with from six to twenty thousand acres of pasture land around, on which the flocks and herds multiplied with little trouble. This system was afterward carried out in places where no official eye had penetrated; and when the English Government afterward converted this tenure by sufferance into freehold property, there was much difficulty in settling conflicting claims where no accurate boundary had been fixed. The farming was of the poorest and most primitive kind; and as all the work was done by slaves, it is not wonderful that the progress of the colony was slow. Janssens, the last of the Dutch governors, replied to a proposal for a new settlement in the place by saying that he did not see how any more people could subsist there, and that he contemplated the actual increase of population with alarm, not knowing where the children of the next generation would find bread to eat. At this time, after an existence of a century and a half, the colony contained about 20,000 free people. Since coming into the possession of England the number increased. In 1904 there were in Cape Colony alone 575,102 whites and 1,829,776 blacks. In Governor Janssens's time some loads of wool, which had been brought down for export, found no buyer, and the wool was thrown to the winds upon the beach. The export of the same article from the Cape alone amounts to fifteen million dollars.[1]

Such were the consequences of the narrow and tyrannical government of the Company. The Dutch are a republican people, and it was not likely that the colonists would endure it longer than they could help. The revolt of the English colonists in America, and events in France, were enough to show them the way; but the change was precipitated by the revolutionary disturbances which distracted Holland about the same time. The Company had long been in a decaying condition; and when the French conquered Holland in 1795, it was abolished, its debts and possessions becoming those of the nation. The Cape Colony, exclusive of Cape Town, was divided into three provinces. Cape Town enjoyed a hateful official predominance; and the inhabitants of two of the other provinces now declared themselves independent, expelled the government officials and proclaimed a republic at Swellendam. The English Government saw in this incident nothing but an effect of French revolutionary principles; the Cape was now an important naval station, and they took possession of the whole colony on behalf of the Prince of Orange, who had been driven from Holland. This British protectorate over the colony lasted until the Peace of Amiens, when it was evacuated and restored to Holland. Upon the war breaking out again, the English again took possession of the Cape and since 1806 it has remained in their possession, having been formally ceded by the Treaty of Paris in 1815. We shall see in the next chapter how public opinion was gradually stirred against the slave-trade and slavery, on which, however, the prosperity of many European colonies was supposed to depend. The Cape was one of these; and the first consequence of the British occupation was the abolition of this trade—for the last cargo of slaves came to Cape Town in 1807. The Dutch, who did not share the humane ideas of the English, were exasperated at this, and still more by the laws for the protection of the Hottentots, which the English made and rigorously executed. As we shall presently see, they were afterward still more offended by the abolition of the institution of slavery itself. In 1815 some of the Boers attempted a rebellion, in consequence of some prosecutions for ill-using the Hottentots, and in this they were helped by some neighboring natives, who have from time to time proved very troublesome to the English.

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[1] The value of sheep and goats' wool imported into Great Britain from Cape Colony alone in 1903 was £3,030,936.

These were the Kaffirs, a tall and warlike race, in no way resembling the Hottentots. They have, indeed, some of the characteristics of an Asiatic people. The Dutch had fought with them many years before, and in 1780 had succeeded in driving them beyond the Great Fish River. But they often came back, and there was no little difficulty in maintaining this river as the boundary. They dwelt mostly to the east of the colony, and as the colonists approached their borders, the Kaffirs stole their cattle; and this went on so much that it was made lawful to shoot the Kaffirs whenever they were taken in the act of cattle-stealing. The colonists also adopted a system of reprisals, by which they stole the cattle of the Kaffirs; and ever since 1811 there have been from time to time wars between them and the Kaffirs, and sometimes wars on a considerable scale. In 1818, for instance, English troops to the number of three or four thousand entered Kaffirland, and took possession of a large frontier tract; and there was another invasion ten years afterward. The greatest Kaffir war broke out in 1835, when 10,000 fighting men invaded the colony, sweeping over the Eastern Province, and striking a panic into Cape Town itself. The Kaffirs are naturally cruel and superstitious; one of their chiefs, named Chaka, who lived at the beginning of this century, destroyed a million of human beings. But large numbers of them have now been civilized, and in course of time they will perhaps settle down peaceably by their white neighbors. The English have always endeavored to treat them fairly and humanely, and to make the Dutch do the same. The Dutch Boer, however, cannot understand why this should be, and he hates the English for coercing him into it. The Boers all over South Africa have the same characteristics. They are ignorant and grasping; and as regards the Kaffirs they have a doctrine which completely satisfies themselves, though it does not satisfy any other of the parties concerned in the question. They are stern Calvinists, and hold the Bible as their only moral law. When the English remonstrate with them, they turn to the five books of Moses, and point to the passages where the people of Israel are commanded to go in and possess the land, and to drive out the Canaanites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites. "Ye shall utterly drive out the inhabitants thereof. Ye shall make no covenant with them nor show any mercy unto them. The Lord hath given the land for an inheritance to you and to your children." In this blind stubbornness have the Dutch Boers gone on to this day, forgetting that they are in the midst of a land which is far from being conquered from the inhabitants, who are a numerous and warlike race, and gradually learning the use of firearms. Their treatment of the natives has often provoked hostility to all white people; and although in most parts of South Africa the natives by this time fully understand the difference between the English and the Dutch, it is probable that in the case of a general rising against the Dutch the English settlers would be seriously endangered. It is this, besides motives of common justice and humanity, which led England, however unwillingly, to keep her hand upon the Dutch wherever they went.

No colonizing expedition has been more successful than that which was sent out by the English Government in 1820. Free settlers had already been emigrating to New South Wales; and after the war of 1818 it appeared to the government that a settlement might well be established in the conquered part of Kaffirland if people could be sent out in sufficient numbers to protect themselves. They voted 50,000*l.* to send out 5000 colonists, and in 1820 this party landed at Port Elizabeth in Algoa Bay. The government transported them in wagons to their freehold allotments of 100 acres each, and supplied them with rations until they could manage to subsist by their farming. They suffered many hardships, but the new colony steadily prospered and extended; in 1835 it became a separate district by the name of the Eastern Province. There were already many Dutch settlers in the Eastern Province; indeed, the old Dutch province of Graaf-Reynet was incorporated with it. But the Eastern Province has taken a character so different from the Western as to illustrate exactly the difference between the English and the Dutch settlers. It is less self-contained, and more enterprising.

The Cape was included in that general enfranchisement of all British colonies willing to accept it, which took place in the middle of the nineteenth century. For nearly thirty years after the conquest the colony remained under military rule; but this ceased in 1835, when executive and legislative councils were appointed. But the Dutch, a nation full of political instincts, had always been discontented at their exclusion from political rights, and the new English settlers were not slow to take up this feeling. As early as 1841, the people petitioned for representative government, and the governor, Sir George Napier, warmly supported their request; but the Colonial Office found difficulties in the way, both as to the exact measure of the proposed grant, and in connection with the scattered character of the settlements, and the remoteness of the Eastern Province from the seat of government. An incident in the year 1849 forced on the measure. Australia had now closed her ports against English convict ships, and Lord Grey, then Colonial Secretary, determined to send the convicts henceforth to the Cape. A shipload of Irish political prisoners actually arrived off Cape Town; but the colonists rose in arms, and would not allow them to be landed. This successful resistance encouraged them to repeat their demands, and at length in 1850 the governor was empowered to summon a constituent council, as in Australia. The constituent council settled the new form of government, on the basis of a legislative council or upper house, and a house of assembly, both elected by persons possessing a property qualification. As the governor was not responsible to his parliament, this was much the same constitution as Canada enjoyed up to the year 1840. The first Cape parliament met in 1854; but for twenty years the government of the colony was carried on chiefly from home, and with indifferent success. There was constant poverty and commercial depression; the colony seemed incapable of progress, and had even to raise loans to pay its current expenses of government. The opening of the Suez canal in 1870 removed much of the traffic which formerly passed by the Cape, though the injury to the colony has been far less than was anticipated. But the Cape now became of far less importance as a station on the way to India; and the defenses of this colony could not longer be allowed to cost the mother country 300,000*l.* a year. Gradually it came to be seen that the Cape people ought to be left entirely to the management of their own affairs, and in 1872 this half-and-half state of things ceased, and the colony passed into the hands of local ministers responsible to the assembly, as in Canada and the Australian colonies. This measure was forced on by the increasing difficulties with the natives in other states of South Africa, in the belief that it would be followed by these states in some way or other joining with the free Cape government to make a general South African Confederation. The territory of the Cape Colony had been in the meantime increased by the addition of some territory beyond the Eastern Province. At the close of the war of 1835, British authority was extended over a considerable tract of Kaffirland, and at the end of the last Kaffir war in 1853 this was definitely annexed by the name of British Kaffraria. In 1865 British Kaffraria was incorporated with the Eastern Province, and authorized to send representatives to the assembly at Cape Town.

The continuance of the English policy in favor of the natives led to a great migration of the Dutch Boers from the Eastern Province in 1835 and the years following. Slavery had been finally abolished in 1834, and a general condemnation was soon afterward passed by the British Government on the Kaffir wars. Thousands of Dutch settlers, smarting from the loss of their Hottentot and negro slaves, and believing that the English were really encouraging the Kaffirs to massacre them, now abandoned their farms, placed their goods and their families in their ox-wagons, and crossed the Orange River into the land which is now the Orange River Colony, driving their herds with them. Here they wandered about for some time, and at length found their way over the Drakenberg Mountains into the district of Natal. On the Christmas Day of the memorable year 1498, when Vasco da Gama had rounded the Cape, and was coasting round the eastern shore on his way to India, he came upon a wide bay to whose picturesque shores he gave the name of Terra do Natal (Christmas-land). When the Boers entered this country there was already a small English settlement at Port Durban, on the bay. It had been founded by an English captain named Gardiner; and he named it the Republic of Victoria, supposing that the British Government would never help him in organizing it. The English at the coast were ready enough to welcome the Dutch immigrants. The natives were few and feeble: after being under the tyranny of a ferocious Kaffir chief, they had now passed into a state of vassalage to the Europeans at the port. But shortly after the arrival of the Boers, there happened an immigration of 100,000 warlike blacks from the interior, called Zulus, with whom the Dutch had to do battle for their new settlement. They beat the Zulus, but they could not prevent them from settling down in large numbers all round them. Fancying themselves now independent of England, they elected a Volksraad, or national council, and proclaimed the Republic of Natal; but the English forced them to submit, and in 1843 Natal was declared a British colony. The English protected the Zulus, and many of the Dutch went back over the Drakenberg; but in a few years British settlers began to arrive, and there are now 60,000 Europeans in the colony. In 1849 the sugar cane was introduced in the lowlands near the coast; and many thousands of tons are now made here every year, yielding employment to a large number of the natives, as well as to Hindoo coolies. Natal has valuable mines of coal, an important fact when we consider that great quantities of coal were formerly exported from England to the Cape, and that all South Africa is rich in valuable minerals. Besides this, Natal, like the Cape, exports large quantities of wool and hides. After being several years a dependency of the Cape government, it became a separate colony in 1856, and obtained responsible government in 1893. The first decided evidences of progress in this colony date from the years 1859 to 1863. As the land is extremely fertile, and has been sold very cheap, the increase of immigration has been steady; and although Natal has always been beset with the same question which perplexes the South African colonists, it has all the elements of great future prosperity.

Many of the Boers, instead of crossing the Drakenberg, remained in the district of the Orange and Vaal Rivers, and made the beginnings of an entirely new community. This fertile district is part of the great tableland of South Africa. It lies 5000 feet above the sea, and has the driest and most healthful climate in the world. Here many of the Dutch settled down with their herds, and they were soon joined by English and German immigrants. They organized their community as a Free-State or Republic, governed by a president, elected for four years, and a parliament or volksraad, elected by the inhabitants of the various districts. One of the Boers had settled near a spring of water surrounded with rich vegetation. He called his farm Bloem-fontein, or Spring of Flowers, and here there grew up the little town which is now the capital of the Orange River Colony. For some years the English Government took no notice of these settlers; but in 1845 they made war upon the Griquas, a race of half-breeds, who had emigrated to the same neighborhood early in the nineteenth century. The Griquas were under English protection; and the government, surmising that the Boers would not very strictly respect the rights of the Griquas, sent troops from the Cape to defend them; and, for the purpose of enforcing English law, proclaimed the sovereignty of England over all the rich territory between the rivers Orange and Vaal. The Boers resisted by force of arms, but they were reduced to submission, and a number of them, led by one Pretorius, disgusted at finding themselves once more subject to English law, migrated to the other side of the Vaal, as they had migrated a few years before over the Orange River. Many more English settlers now came; but the constant troubles with the natives, and apprehension of a continual increase of the African territory of the Crown, led the English Government, in 1853, to cast the Orange province adrift. So little was then known in England of the matter, that only a single voice was raised in the British Parliament against this measure. Sir Charles Adderley, as everybody now admits, was right. The Orange Free State had now to enter alone on a long war with the Basutos, and to annex a large tract of Basutoland to their territory. The people afterward petitioned, but without success, to be readmitted to the rights of British citizens.

In 1861 those of the Boers who dwelt to the north of the Vaal River formed themselves into a separate state, by the name of the South African Republic. The Transvaal land resembles the

Orange River Colony except that it is somewhat higher, more tropical, and more picturesque, richer in minerals, and much larger. The Boers of the Transvaal established a government like that of the Orange State, with a president and volksraad. Their constitution was semi-military, the governors of the districts, elected by the volksraad, being chiefly men who had become famous as leaders of periodical raids upon the natives. Such a man was President Pretorius, who died in 1853, and after whom the seat of government was named Pretoria. After the death of Pretorius, the government fell into great disorder. The Dutch provoked the usual disturbances with the natives, and it became clear that there would be no peace for the Transvaal until it was taken in hand by Englishmen. The Boers, however, hoped to avoid interference; and with the view of obtaining access to the sea for themselves, they made a treaty with the Portuguese for constructing a railway from the republic to the Portuguese settlement of Delagoa Bay.

In 1867 a diamond was found in the roots of an old thorn tree in a district belonging to the Orange Free State, and it was soon found that this district contained more diamonds than all the rest of the world together. This great discovery was at first kept secret, but in 1870 the number of the diamonds that found their way to Europe from South Africa could no longer be concealed. A great influx of diggers now took place, most of whom were English; and as the government of the Orange Free State was thought to be unable to keep order among them, the English took possession of the district, availing themselves of the pretensions of a Griqua chief named Water-boer, and made it a British colony by the name of Griqua-land-west. The people of the Orange Free State protested in vain against this annexation; but the fact is that the states of South Africa lay under a difficulty which does not happen in other colonies, and which perhaps justified the English Government in what appeared to be arbitrary policy. The Dutch Boers, whatever may be the reason, cannot get on with the natives, and their policy imperiled the position of the English colonists. It later became clear that English authority must in some shape or other be reasserted over all the European settlements at the Cape, and the occupation of Griqua-land-west was the first step in this process. In 1877 Griqua-land-west was united with the Cape Colony.

To Sir George Grey, who had rendered such great services to the empire as governor of South Australia and New Zealand, belongs the credit of first urging the policy of a United South Africa. He was transferred from New Zealand to the governorship of the Cape in 1853. On his arrival he took up the troublesome question of the Kaffirs with characteristic energy and success, buying up the sovereign rights of the chiefs and colonizing their country with the soldiers of the German Legion which had been in the English service during the Crimean War. He recommended the union of Cape Colony, Natal, and British Kaffraria. The Orange Free State favored the project and took steps in 1858 to bring about annexation to Cape Colony. Grey's plan was a federal union of the English colonies and Boer states on the model of the newly established constitution of New Zealand, but his views found no acceptance with the home government and led to his recall in 1859. Fifteen years later English opinion had grown up to his conception of the necessity for a general government over all South Africa, with a uniform policy toward the natives and a strong power for maintaining order. To understand this necessity we must bear in mind both the geographical conformation of this vast district, and the peculiar system under which it has been colonized. It is not like that of Canada and the United States, by which the land has been completely occupied piece by piece, and a dwindling race of natives has been gradually driven in the mass farther and farther away. Each farmer takes to himself a large stretch of land, varying from six to twenty thousand acres, only a small part of which he actually occupies, the rest being left as wild pasture. In this way a very thin European population soon spreads over a vast area, from which it is impossible to exclude the natives, who are a warlike race, multiplying faster than the Europeans, and continually recruited from the populous interior of the continent. It is thus most difficult for the settlers either to combine for self-defense, or to calculate the extent of their danger. The natives had confidence in the rule of the English, but none in that of the Dutch. They were advancing in many ways, especially in the use of firearms; the Dutch were ever giving them provocations to break out, which they were only too ready to accept; and under the Boer governments no district was ever free from apprehensions of a general rising against the Europeans. The opening of the diamond fields had brought South African affairs into public notice and the success of the newly completed federation of British North

America seemed to furnish a model government for the whole country. The Earl of Carnarvon, as colonial secretary, had brought in the British North America bill. In 1874 he was again colonial secretary in Disraeli's second administration and took up with enthusiasm the project of South African confederation. At this time the scheme was not well received in Cape Colony or the Orange Free State. Nevertheless a plan of union was formulated, and approved by Parliament in 1877, and Sir Bartle Frere was in the same year sent out as governor of the Cape and the first high commissioner for South Africa. He found the Boers of the Transvaal embroiled with the Zulus, Matabeles, and Bechuanas on their eastern, northern, and western frontiers respectively. The natives, supported by the missionaries, appealed for English protection, as did the English residents of the Transvaal. Sir Theophilus Shepstone, the successful secretary for native affairs in Natal, was sent out by Lord Carnarvon as a special commissioner for South Africa, with power to investigate the affairs of the Transvaal and if necessary to take possession of the country. On April 12, 1877, he issued a proclamation of annexation and proceeded to administer the country as a British province. The vigorous protests of the Boers were disregarded, and Shepstone was sustained by the home government, which hoped for the voluntary entrance of the Orange Free State into the proposed confederation.

The English now took up the Boer quarrel with the warlike and formidable Zulus. The territorial demands of the Boers were abandoned, but Sir Bartle Frere took advantage of the opportunity to require the reorganization of the Zulu military system, acceptance of a British resident, protection for missionaries, and reparation for past misdeeds. To enforce these demands Zululand was invaded January 12, 1879. Ten days later two British battalions were utterly destroyed at Isandlana, and the Natal frontier could only be held against the victorious Zulus by hard fighting. By the end of March the forward movement was resumed, this time with success. The Zulus were everywhere defeated, their capital taken and burned, their king, Cetiwayo, captured, the people disarmed, and the country organized under a British resident. During this struggle the Boers stood sullenly aloof, and in the following year rebelled, declaring the independence of the Transvaal December 13, 1880. A week later a small British force was defeated and captured by the insurgents near Bronkhorst Spruit. Other Boer successes at Laing's Neck and Ingago were followed by a disastrous defeat of the British with the loss of their commander, Sir George Colley, at Majuba Hill, on February 26, 1881. The liberal ministry of Gladstone was now in power in England, and soon made peace, recognizing the independence of the country under British suzerainty, with a British resident and British control of foreign relations.

The Boers of the Transvaal, or South African Republic, as their state was now called, were ambitious for expansion northward beyond the Limpopo River, and eastward to the sea, but were thwarted in both directions by the English. The claims of the Portuguese to this region were disregarded; on February 11, 1888, the British High Commissioner for South Africa negotiated a treaty with Lobengula, king of the powerful Matabele tribe, and the country was declared within the sphere of British influence. The British South African Company was organized by Cecil Rhodes, premier of Cape Colony, a millionaire of the diamond fields, to develop and administer the country north and west of the South African Republic and east of the Portuguese territory. It received a royal charter October 29, 1889, and promptly began the organization and settlement of its domain. In 1893 war broke out with the Matabeles, Lobengula was driven into exile and the English were soon masters of the whole country. The dream of Boer expansion northward was shattered. To the west the way had been already barred by the British protectorate over the Bechuana tribes, undertaken at the request of the English missionaries. Meanwhile the South African Republic had secured a modification of the convention of 1881 by which its independence had been recognized. A new convention was signed in London February 27, 1884, wherein the express declaration of British suzerainty was omitted; the republic undertook to conclude no treaty or engagement with any state or nation other than the Orange Free State, nor with any native tribe outside the boundaries of the republic without the approval of the British Crown; religious freedom was guaranteed; the right of foreigners to travel, reside, and trade in the country on equal terms with the Boers was secured, and all persons, except natives, domiciled there during the British occupation, were exempted from military service upon registration with the British resident. The volksraad of the republic reluctantly ratified this convention, seeing that complete independence could not be obtained.

Up to this time the chief wealth of the South African Republic, as of the rest of South Africa, had been its sheep and cattle, though it also produced large quantities of grain. The people led a primitive pastoral life, secure in their remoteness from contact with energetic modern civilization. All this was changed by the discovery of gold deposits of wonderful richness in the Witwatersrand, about half way between the capital at Pretoria and the Vaal River. Adventurers from all the world poured into the gold fields, purchased land from the Boer farmers at enormous prices, and went energetically to work to develop the mineral resources of the country. These "Uitlanders," or foreigners, built the new city of Johannesburg, and were estimated in 1890 at 100,000 souls. Millions of English and European capital were invested in the mines, and the new industry paid four-fifths of the revenues of the republic. The Boers regarded the newcomers with jealousy and distrust, forced them to perform military service, and refused to admit them to the privileges of citizenship. Agitation arose among the Uitlanders for the redress of their grievances and found sympathy among the British population of the other colonies and leadership in the person of Cecil Rhodes, premier of Cape Colony. A rising of the Uitlanders was planned, and in its support Dr. Jameson, administrator of the British South Africa Company, invaded the republic with a force of five hundred mounted police from Bechuanaland. The Johannesburgers were not ready; Jameson's force was defeated and captured on New Year's Day, 1896, and the leaders of the conspiracy in Johannesburg arrested. The former were handed over to the English courts for trial and punishment. Of the latter four were tried for treason and sentenced to death, but were afterward released upon the payment of heavy fines. Cecil Rhodes resigned from the premiership of Cape Colony and from the board of directors of the British South Africa Company. A parliamentary investigation established his responsibility for the raid, but was then allowed to drop by the consent of all parties, apparently for the purpose of shielding from exposure persons of still higher position and greater influence. The whole unfortunate affair spread distrust of English designs and hostility to English rule among the Dutch population throughout South Africa. These sentiments found ready acceptance and expression in the "Afrikander Bund," or National party, formed in Cape Colony in 1881 and devoted to the political union and independence of all the European nationalities.

The grievances of the Uitlanders were promptly taken up by the British Colonial Secretary Chamberlain, who insistently urged upon President Kruger suggestions for their redress. He was met by counter claims for the abrogation of article 4 of the London convention of 1884, whereby the foreign treaties of the republic were subject to a British veto; for money damages on account of the Jameson raid, and for the punishment of the officers of the British South Africa Company who had planned the raid. For rejoinder the colonial secretary refused any modification of article 4, and alleged many cases wherein the republic had broken this and article 14, guaranteeing the equal rights of foreigners. Negotiations were carried on through Sir Alfred Milner, sent out in February as governor of Cape Colony and high commissioner for South Africa, to secure such modifications of the franchise law as would give the Uitlanders a substantial voice in the councils of the republic. The Boers feared that this would mean the loss of their political control, and refused to concede it in spite of advice to the contrary from prominent and friendly Cape Dutch and European sympathizers. Negotiations ended on September 22, 1899. In the meantime the Afrikander Bund had come into power in Cape Colony with a ministry headed by W. P. Schreiner; the British South Africa Company had been reorganized, securing a more strict control of its territories (Rhodesia) by the colonial office; the South African Republic and Orange Free State had entered into an alliance to repel attacks upon the independence of either; President Kruger and the volksraad had quarreled with their supreme court and dismissed the chief justice from office. British and Boers were arming, each accusing the other of taking the first warlike step, though undoubtedly the Boer preparations were the more complete. On October 9 the South African Republic presented an ultimatum demanding the settlement of all points at issue by arbitration and the immediate withdrawal from South Africa of British troops landed there since June 1, failure to receive a favorable answer within two days to be taken as a declaration of war. The colonial secretary declined to discuss these propositions, the Orange Free State gave notice that it would support the South African Republic, and war began with Boer invasions of Natal and Cape Colony, followed by proclamations of annexation to the republics, and in Cape Colony by formidable risings of the Dutch farmers against the English throughout whole districts. Siege was laid to Mafeking, Kimberley, and Ladysmith. All attempts of the English to advance were defeated with heavy loss, and the prospect of British success was exceedingly dark. In this emergency Lord Roberts was sent out as commander in chief, with Lord Kitchener as chief of staff, and the forces in South Africa were increased to 200,000 men. On February 11, 1900, Lord Roberts took the offensive in Cape Colony, Kimberley was relieved, the Boer army under Cronje surrounded and captured at Paardeberg, and the pressure on Ladysmith relaxed so that its relief was effected by Sir Redvers Buller. Lord Roberts occupied Bloemfontein on March 12, and by the end of April resumed the advance toward Pretoria. Pausing at Kroonstad, he issued a proclamation on May 24, annexing the Orange Free State to the British empire, then pressed on to the Vaal, crossed it on May 26 and 27, occupied Johannesburg on May 31 and Pretoria on June 5. In the meantime Mafeking had been relieved after a siege of seven months, and Buller had cleared Natal of the enemy. The war now took on a guerrilla character. Small bands of Boers spread over an immense territory, keeping up an annoying but ineffective resistance. The annexation of the Transvaal was proclaimed October 25, and a month later Lord Roberts returned to England, leaving Lord Kitchener in command.

Hostilities continued until May 31, 1902, when terms of surrender were negotiated with the military leaders of the Boers whereby British sovereignty was acknowledged and the concurrent use of the English and Dutch languages in schools and law courts was guaranteed. The British Government promised that military administration should be as brief as possible, and that representative institutions leading to self-government should be introduced as soon as circumstances would permit. The imperial parliament granted 5,000,000*l.* from imperial funds to repair the losses caused by the war and loaned 3,000,000*l.* from colonial funds to assist in restoring the people to their homes. Martial law was abolished in November, 1902.

The movement for closer union between the four colonies of South Africa culminated in a convention in October, 1908. On January 11, 1909, the drafting of the Constitution began, and when finished in March was submitted to the separate colonies. The colonies accepted the Constitution and in July, 1909, it was presented for final approval of Parliament. It passed both Houses in the summer and received the royal assent on September 20th. Under this Act the colonies of Cape of Good Hope, Natal, the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony were merged into the new Union of South Africa. The executive authority is vested in the King, who appoints a Governor General. He in turn is assisted by an Executive Council whose functions are advisory. All bills passed by the Parliament of the Union require his assent and they may be disallowed by the King within the year. The Union Parliament consists of a Senate and House of Assembly. The Senate has a membership of forty, eight chosen by each of the colonies and eight nominated by the Governor General. The House of Assembly consists of 121 members chosen direct by vote. Members of both Houses have to be British subjects of European descent. The first Governor General under the new Constitution was the Right Honorable Viscount Gladstone, who assumed office on May 31, 1913. The English and Dutch languages are official languages of the Union and are treated on a footing of equality. Cape Town is the seat of Legislature, while Pretoria is the seat of the Executive Government. The principal problems confronting the Parliament of 1911 and 1912 were the language question, involving the use of the English and Dutch languages in public schools, the treatment of the native and Asiatic populations, their relation to the Europeans and their political rights. The question of defence was brought out prominently through the Imperial Conference in London in 1911. In June, 1912, the Union Parliament passed the Defence Act creating a force for the internal defence of South Africa, and $2,500,000 a year was appropriated for an additional force of militia besides the permanent force of five regiments. In December, 1912, a political crisis arose which involved change in the ministry through the anti-Imperial and anti-British opposition of General Hertzog. With the beginning of 1913 the new ministry under General Botha announced that its endeavors would be to build up the country along non-racial lines. (See AFRICA.)

Chapter XIV

BRITISH DEPENDENCIES. 1800-1928

WE have now seen how three great groups of English colonies, besides the mighty United States of America, have grown up in a short time in different parts of the world, and have attained free representative government, with full control of administration, through ministries responsible to the local parliaments. The conditions under which this has been done are peculiar, and not easily repeated elsewhere, so that it is hard to see where any fifth English colonial nation can ever be founded. Such colonies require a large expanse of productive agricultural land, which must lie in a temperate climate, and not be too thickly peopled by native races, so as to attract a continuous stream of capital and labor. They presuppose the formation of strong political instincts, the growth of a class of colonists possessed of some leisure and education, continued immunity from the severer forms of social disaster, and an internal prosperity which enables them to pay the expenses of their own government, and to win the confidence of older states where there is money to be lent on national credit. Many English settlements have, of course, been made where some of these conditions cannot be fulfilled, and these remain under the control of the mother-country, under the name of Crown governments, by which is meant that, instead of making laws for themselves, laws are made for them by the Crown in council, or by a local governor and council appointed by the Crown, instead of by their own popular representatives. Contrary to what might be presumed, this class of colonies has of late years been increasing; for some colonies which had free institutions long before the settlement of Englishmen in Africa and Australia, have apparently come to drop behind in the race of colonial progress, and to lapse into the condition of Crown governments. This has been the case with nearly all the British West Indies. In old times the islands were not much the better for their independent governments. They had each to maintain a complete set of government offices, which could be easily filled by deputy, and gradually came to be held by sinecurists in England, and as time went on it became a difficult thing to get the planters to take any interest in the government. The wealthiest planters were always absentees. The rest were too busy in making money to care anything about public affairs, and when their fortunes were once made they became absentees also. Hence few people voted or offered themselves as candidates, and the assemblies were often composed of obscure and ignorant people. They made all kinds of inconsistent laws; they got into financial difficulties; their governments were lax and corrupt, and shocked Europe by the cruelty with which the slave system was administered; and when at length this was abolished, and the protection to English-grown sugar was withdrawn, new troubles began. While private and public interests had alike enough to do to weather the financial storm, the freed negroes became unmanageable; they got into the assemblies, and tried to turn the tables on their former masters. Some of the islands surrendered their old constitutions, and have since been in process of consolidation into a less number of larger and more efficient governments under the direct authority of the Crown. Besides the West India Islands and Trinidad, Guiana, Mauritius, and Ceylon, which were taken from the French and Dutch in the wars of the revolution, and some others, have always remained Crown colonies. Some new and important trade settlements in the seas east of India come under the same head, and the history of the Crown governments naturally includes one or two free governments like Barbardos, where representative institutions are in force but the administration is not responsible to the legislature, and practically free ones like Guiana. Under this head, therefore, we shall trace the history of what remains of the British Colonial Empire besides the three great groups of colonies treated of in the three preceding chapters.

We have seen that in the great European war between 1805 and 1814, the French and their allies lost all their colonies, and the naval and colonial supremacy of England was thus carried to its greatest possible height. The West Indies were still thought to be the most valuable of the European colonies; and every island in the Caribbean Sea, except Hayti, was now at the mercy of the English. At the peace of 1814 all the conquests in the West Indies were restored, except Tobago and St. Lucie, which were ceded by France, and the plantations on the Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice rivers in Guiana, which were ceded by Holland. England thus augmented once more the already overgrown empire in the West Indies which she had been nearly two centuries in building up. Its value was greatly increased by the total ruin of the trade of Santo Domingo. Before the revolution, Santo Domingo had been the most flourishing of the West Indian colonies; and it had supplied France and most of continental Europe with sugar and coffee. At the beginning of the present century the produce of Jamaica was nearly doubled, in consequence of the ruin of Santo Domingo, and the continuance of a war in which the English were supreme at sea. It reached its greatest height in 1806. The same causes promoted a very rapid growth in Trinidad. But the West Indies were no longer the only sugar-producing colonies. The sugar production of Brazil, and in the east of Ceylon, Mauritius, and Java, had been steadily increasing during the past century; and the West India planters were driven hard to keep the command of the European market. The West Indies had thus begun to decline in real importance as a whole at the time when they reached their greatest prosperity. And this prosperity was at best but hazardous. The islands are subject to great hurricanes, which sometimes destroy the whole of the crops and machinery, besides killing the inhabitants; the planters were often ruined, and thousands of negroes perished of famine. In 1831, for instance, there was a terrible hurricane in Barbados, in which 2500 persons were killed, and property was destroyed to the amount of twelve million dollars; and many others are matters of local history. The hurricanes are sometimes rivaled in destructiveness by earthquakes. In 1692 one of the most awful of these visitations buried Port Royal, the ancient capital of Jamaica, eight fathoms under water. The French Government, less scrupulous than that of England in disposing of the produce of taxation, often reimbursed the planters for such losses, and the English Government was obliged to follow their example. The West Indies were thus maintained in an artificial position, partly for the benefit of a certain number of capitalists and merchants, partly out of regard for a doubtful political principle, and partly as affording a large amount of interest and patronage to the government, at the expense of unceasing cruelty and injustice to the negro race, and of a tax, in the shape of protective duties on their produce, which fell heavily upon the poorer classes in

England. This could not go on long after the moral and political awakening which came with the latter years of the eighteenth century; and we shall now see how the West India Islands have lost their artificial prosperity, and have had to begin a new career, in which they have no advantage over the rest of the colonial world.

The British slave trade was at its greatest height just before the outbreak of American Independence. In 1771 English vessels carried 47,000 negroes to the plantations; and those of other nations brought about 35,000 a year more. Many thousands more were annually murdered in the perpetual wars which were carried on among the natives in Africa, to feed this unnatural traffic, and great numbers often perished in the horrors of the Middle Passage. The agitation against the trade had originated among the Quakers of Pennsylvania, from whom it spread to the other American colonies; and the Virginia Assembly had petitioned the Crown against it shortly before the Declaration of Independence. But England refused to give up this profitable iniquity. It was clear that its abolition would only be a step toward the abolition of slavery itself; and in slavery many good people saw no harm whatever, or thought that what harm there might be was quite justified by the recognition of the principle of it in the Bible. Even the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel owned plantations in the West Indies worked by slaves. Many people wished for the abolition of the trade who saw great difficulties in abolishing slavery itself. At any rate, there was no prospect of the abolition of the trade until after the English slavers had lost the monopoly of the ports of the United States. This happened in 1783; and the scope of the slave trade was now greatly narrowed. There could be no pretense that the West Indies were not sufficiently stocked with laborers; and, encouraged by the success of the American Anti-Slavery Societies, a number of humane Englishmen, foremost among whom was Thomas Clarkson, now labored to call public attention to the matter. It was introduced to parliament in 1789 by Wilberforce: the atrocious nature of the trade was amply proved before a committee of the house, and Denmark, while following the example of England, actually anticipated it by abolishing the trade in 1793. But the progress of the movement was stayed, like that of so many others, by the French Revolution. It was thought to savor of French principles; and for several years Wilberforce was outvoted in his annual motions in its favor, until in 1800 he ceased to make them.

The final abolition of the slave-trade was forced on by the success of the English in the wars, by the ruin of her rivals, and by the consequent great increase in the produce of the English West Indies. The English people had long been disgusted with this wicked and inhuman traffic; and they now saw the price of slaves doubled, and a new stimulus given to the trade, while many thousands more were added to the black population of the West Indies, already sufficiently formidable. The example of Hayti was alarming, and the operations against that island had shown the English Government the difficulty of quelling a general insurrection of the blacks, if headed by intelligent leaders. The number of free negroes and mulattoes was greatly increasing; many of the principal islands, such as Trinidad, Tobago, and Grenada, were occupied by French planters and French mulattoes; insurrections had already desolated the islands of St. Vincent and Grenada; and it was clear that either an end must be put to the further importation of slaves, or a large addition must be made to the military forces stationed in the islands. These considerations, urged on by the increasing force of public opinion, which had now been directed to the subject for twenty years, prevailed with the English Parliament; and in 1804, during the Addington administration, Wilberforce's Bill prohibiting the slave-trade was supported both by Pitt and Fox, and passed the house of commons. It was rejected in the lords; but it became law in 1806, after the accession to power of stronger ministers. Of the consequences of the abolition of the slave trade, one of the most interesting to the historian is that it caused the repeal of the navigation laws and the abandonment of the last relics of the old colonial system. Slavery and monopoly, the two parasitical growths that have always threatened to choke colonial progress, were thus cut away together. All the West India Islands were fed on imported corn and meat, and it was now impossible to keep the planters from feeding their slaves on the cheapest supplies. By four distinct stages (1822, 1825, 1833, and 1843) the laws which hampered their import trade with foreign countries were removed; and so far as trade was concerned, the West Indies were placed in the same situation as regarded foreign countries as if they had formed part of Great Britain. The abolition of the British Slave Trade was but the first and easiest victory in a series of hard struggles. It was not so easy to persuade, and sometimes to compel, less civilized nations to abolish the traffic. Besides, slavery still existed as an institution. It was hoped that this cutting off of the supply would put an end to that system of working negroes to death which was practiced in some cases by planters who considered it cheaper to buy slaves than to breed them, and that henceforth the slaves would be more humanely used out of mere economy. The United States abolished the slave-trade in the same year, and henceforth both countries devoted themselves to procuring its abolition all over the world.

The hopes that had been entertained of a gradual improvement in the condition of the slaves proved groundless. On the contrary, their owners too often treated them with increased cruelty; and perhaps the grossest inhumanities on record were committed upon his slaves by a wretch named Hodge, who was hanged at Tortola in 1811. The English Government in vain tried to get the local assemblies to improve their laws as regarded the negroes, and at last sent out warning messages, which were angrily returned by the planters, who threatened to revolt, as the colonists of America had already revolted, if the mother country meddled in their domestic affairs. This was mere bravado, for if England had withdrawn the troops the blacks could easily have massacred the whole of the whites in the British West Indies. As the true state of the negroes became known, public opinion at home was again thoroughly roused. At length, in 1831, a ruinous insurrection broke out among the blacks of Jamaica, who believed that England had freed them, and that their masters were cheating them out of their liberty. The general successes of a Liberal ministry now paved the way for a final settlement; and Buxton at length crowned the labors of many years by carrying through parliament a bill abolishing slavery in the English colonies after the year 1834. Twenty millions sterling were voted as compensation to the slave-owners; and this vast payment, raised out of the taxes of the nation without an outcry from any class from the highest to the lowest, was certainly an act of moral grandeur to which it would be hard to find a parallel in history. The negroes were to remain for a certain term of years in a state of tutelage or "apprenticeship." Antigua, however, set a wise example by giving them complete freedom at once; and the apprenticeship was first shortened, and afterward completely abolished. The abolition of slavery was received with great joy by the negroes; and at length even the planters came to believe that free blacks would work harder than slave blacks, as the philosophers were always telling them, and that the change would therefore be greatly to their advantage. The philosophers, however, were quite wrong, as we shall shortly see. The freed negroes abandoned the plantations in great numbers and raised food for themselves on their little patches of land instead of depending on imported foodstuffs as before. The annual yield of the sugar crop decreased, but the general well-being of the population increased.

English notions of the effect of the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in the West Indies have naturally been derived from the condition of the principal English island. During the present century the decline of Jamaica since the abolition has been conspicuous; and the more so because of the enormous stimulus which was given to its production in the first years of the century. But no other island declined at once in the same proportion, and this would be enough to show that the decline of Jamaica cannot have been entirely caused by the abolition. The fact is, that the decay of Jamaica had been going on all through the eighteenth century, and was only completed by this final shock. The white population at the beginning of the century had numbered 60,000; in 1757 it was only 25,000. The negroes had diminished, though in a less proportion than the whites. At the latter epoch, which, notwithstanding this decay, was one of great external prosperity, not one-tenth of the island was under any kind of cultivation. In William Penn's time improved land in Jamaica was as valuable as in Barbados, and worth three times as much as similar land in England; but a hundred years later land was of just as little value by comparison with Barbados and Antigua as at the present day. The fact is that Jamaica had been wasted by continual earthquakes, hurricanes, and pestilences. Through the ignorance of English financiers it had entirely lost one branch of its trade—the cultivation of indigo; and its general wealth and credit had greatly diminished. This decline was, of course, accelerated by abolition; the freed negroes had no reason for laboring, and settled on the uncultivated lands, where they easily subsisted on their gardens or "provision grounds," whereas in Barbados, where every rod of land was under cultivation, they were obliged to work for wages to make a living, like the farm laborers of England. In most of the other islands, just as in Barbados, the value of land and the amount of sugar produced were increased by the abolition of slavery. The demand for additional labor was supplied by importing free emigrants from the hills of India, called coolies, as well as Portuguese from Madeira; and this competition made it necessary for the negroes to work in good earnest, unless they wished to starve. Trinidad and Guiana took the lead in the application of coolie labor, and this enabled them to bear the effects of abolition better than the older sugar colonies. But the produce of Guiana in 1839, when the apprenticeship system terminated, fell at once to half the average quantity, and a heavy blow soon fell upon the sugar colonies from another quarter.

All the West Indian colonies had existed under abnormal economic conditions. They were devoted to the cultivation of sugar, coffee and a few other high-priced staples for export and suffered from the ills usually attendant upon such a system of agriculture: exhaustion of the fertility of the soil, absenteeism of the great landowners, and heavy expense for the importation of provisions for the miserable slaves. The only measure of prosperity was the value of the staples exported, without regard to the well-being of the black population, which in the wealthy French colony of Santo Domingo outnumbered the whites twenty to one. All the islands went through the same economic cycle beginning with moderate and widely diffused prosperity when the virgin soil was worked by a large number of free proprietors with comparatively small holdings, passing to an era of factitious prosperity marked by increased exports and great estates worked for the benefit of absentee owners by gangs of slaves, and ending in premature decay when diminished fertility increased the cost of production and the competition grew more severe as new land was brought under cultivation in other colonies. The Lesser Antilles, Jamaica, Santo Domingo, Cuba, and Porto Rico have successively passed through this process of development and decay. By the end of the eighteenth century the English islands had reached the third stage. Their hardships were increased by the independence of the United States. Before this their supplies of foodstuffs had come from the English continental temperate-zone colonies. The artificial barriers in which the mercantile system confined colonial trade corresponded somewhat roughly to its natural channels. By a triangular course of trade the food-stuffs of the continent were exported to the British West Indies, the staples of the latter to England, and English manufactures to the colonies on the continent. The political independence of the United States was a dam across the current of this trade, cutting them off from any share in it, but inflicting far greater hardships on the British West Indies, which now must get their provisions from Canada. In Jamaica alone 15,000 blacks perished from famine from 1780 to 1787, and even in 1831, when the exclusive system was to a great degree relaxed, the annual increased cost of production in the islands from this cause was estimated at 187,000*l.* sterling. The competition of the sugar producing colonies of Mauritius and the East Indies could not be met on equal terms, and the sugar export from the West Indies remained practically stationary for the twenty years preceding emancipation, while the growing population of Great Britain paid a high price for sugar and had less per capita year by year. The abolition of the slave trade had only increased the difficulties of the planters, since it left them exposed to the competition of the planters of Brazil and Cuba, who still enjoyed the advantage of this labor supply. All these causes had produced a long period of depression in the British West Indies before the abolition of slavery, and the trade restrictions of the colonial system had perforce been somewhat relaxed. In 1797 trade with the United States was permitted under certain vexatious restrictions, which were made much less severe by an act of parliament passed in 1822. This act also opened trade with foreign European ports, and still greater liberty was allowed in 1826. By this time the duties levied in Great Britain upon colonial produce had been lowered or abolished. All these changes were distinctly favorable to the planters, for whose benefit the differential sugar duties in Great Britain were still exacted.

The worst misfortune now came that could possibly have befallen the British West Indies. Like the abolition of slavery, the abolition of the differential sugar duties was not unforeseen, for it was an inevitable result of the juster and more enlightened policy which England had now begun to put in practice. Formerly the raw sugar of the foreign planters could only enter England on payment of a duty twice as great as that levied on English West Indian sugar; and all the inhabitants of the British Isles were thus taxed for the benefit of the West Indian planters. Even the sugar of India was thus taxed, though to a less extent. The question whether the people of England were to continue thus taxed for the benefit of one small class had been already fought out in the case of the Corn Laws; and in the same year (1846) in which the duty on foreign corn was abolished, the tax on foreign sugar was abolished also, an act being passed by which the protective duties were to be diminished every year until in 1851 they were to cease altogether. The collapse which this caused produced in 1848 the extension of the time for three years longer. If we take into account Trinidad and Guiana, we may say that this great measure has produced no general depression in the West Indies as a whole. Prices and profits of course fell; but in five years after the abolition the British islands produced 20,000 tons of sugar above the average of the last five years of protection. But the older sugar islands of the West Indies were even, for a physical reason, less able to meet the strain of competition than Trinidad and Guiana. One or two degrees of average heat make a very great difference in the yield of the sugar cane, and for this reason we see that its cultivation has gradually tended more and more southward. In the Middle Ages it was grown in the Mediterranean; from thence it was carried to Madeira and the Canaries; then to the Leeward and Windward Islands, and during the nineteenth century the chief production was still nearer to the equator, in Trinidad, Guiana, Brazil, and Java. This physical fact has increased the West Indian difficulty, and it told at once upon all the northern parts of the West Indies. Jamaica also was again peculiarly unlucky. The island was desolated by cholera, which carried off 40,000 negroes; the coolies who were beginning to arrive from India had to be sent back, and the planters believed themselves ruined by the English Parliament. No less than 140 sugar estates were abandoned in Jamaica between the years 1832 and 1848.

The planters, especially in Jamaica, had stubbornly resisted all these measures. When the negroes were emancipated, they tried to forestall future difficulties by passing an Electoral Reform Act, which extended the franchise to the blacks; and fifteen black men at once found seats in the Jamaica Assembly. But this only increased the negro difficulty. The blacks thought themselves entitled to the land of the planters; they refused to work on the plantations, and therefore could pay no rent; and at length, in

1865, they broke out in an insurrection as formidable as the rising of 1831. The ultimate cause lay, no doubt, in the indolence and unreasonableness of a particular class among the blacks; for a large number remained loyal to the government. The fact that out of 400,000 Jamaica negroes, 60,000 had, at this time, legally become landowners, sufficiently shows that they lay, as a class, under no political disadvantages. But there is no doubt that the planters, irritated by constant failures in their business for lack of labor, treated them with undue harshness. They had suffered the negroes to squat and plant "provision grounds" on their estates; and though they might be justified in turning them away when they refused to pay rent, it was unwise and impolitic to destroy, as they often did, the huts and yam-crops of the poor squatters, so as to drive them to work by starvation. We cannot wonder that the assembly was unequal to deal with the crisis. Finding it impossible to maintain the independent government, they surrendered the constitution, at the instance of Governor Eyre, and Jamaica has since been governed by a legislative council appointed by the Crown. The Turks and Caicos Islands, in the Bahama group, and British Honduras, of which England obtained legal possession from Spain in 1786, were combined with the government of Jamaica in 1873. Honduras now has a separate government of its own as a Crown colony. It was, as we have seen, a settlement formed to supply England with mahogany from the forests of Central America. Like the sugar of Jamaica, the mahogany of Honduras was, in the old times, imported under the protection of duties on foreign supplies. These were of course removed when the principle of free trade was established, and since that time the Honduras merchants have been exposed to a sharp competition with those of Mexico and Hayti. It has been the policy of the government to procure the surrender of the constitutions of all the rest of the islands, and to combine them in another single government. Hitherto, however, this measure has only been executed in the Leeward Islands, the six governments of which were consolidated into one confederation in 1871, Antigua being the seat of government. Since the abolition of slavery, the islands had been in a steadily declining condition, and were unable to bear the expenses of their separate establishments. Dominica, for instance, with only 25,000 inhabitants, which, under French rule, had been combined with several other islands under one set of officials, had under the old English system been made a separate colony, and had to maintain fifty-three officials for itself alone. We can easily see how glad the half ruined planters must have been to get rid of this burden, and to combine with the rest in one government. The group is now divided into five presidencies with one governor, a federal executive council, and a federal legislative council of sixteen members, eight of whom are nominated by the Crown and eight elected by the unofficial members of the local legislative councils of Antigua, Dominica, and St. Kitts. The local government of the several presidencies is carried on by councils partly or wholly nominated by the Crown.

The case in the Windward Islands was somewhat different. Public opinion here has been led by the planters of Barbados, who still retain their representative assembly and a large measure both of prosperity and of public spirit. They prize their political independence, and believe that good times still await the West Indies. They think also that what Tobago and Grenada would gain by confederation, would be so much loss to Barbados; and without Barbados it seemed useless to make even the beginning of a combined government for the Windward Islands. At last Tobago was annexed to Trinidad, which had always been a Crown colony. Grenada became a Crown colony in 1876, and now with St. Lucia and St. Vincent forms the government of the Windward Islands, with a common governor and court of appeals, but separate legislative councils whose members are nominated by the Crown. The Bahamas have been little affected by West Indian events. They still retain their representative assembly, which is elected from eleven different islands, of which San Salvador, the first land sighted by Columbus, is one. This assembly meets at Nassau, on the Island of New Providence, and under it the islands seem to enjoy a moderate prosperity. The Bahamas have disendowed their established church, and have dealt effectually with the question of negro squatting; but the uncertainty of the climate often operates badly upon their trade, which is chiefly in salt, sponges, and tropical fruits.

The great sugar-producing colonies of Trinidad and Guiana have a very different history to that of the rest of the West Indies. Both were acquired by England through the wars of the revolution; they were peopled by a race very different from the British planters; and they escaped the worst of the calamities which befell Jamaica and the Leeward Islands, because, instead of foolishly resisting emancipation and then falling into apathy and despair, they at once took active measures for procuring a supply of free labor from India, China, and the Canaries. Trinidad had been unusually favored in the latest Spanish commercial policy. Its trade had been thrown open by Galvez in 1778; and in 1783 was taken the surprising resolution to open the island to Catholic settlers of all nations. At this time the island did not contain 3000 people of all colors, and it produced neither sugar nor coffee, but when the English captured it in 1797, it was found to contain nearly 18,000 inhabitants, and nearly 300 sugar and coffee plantations. So many of the immigrants were French that French soon became the language of the island. The troubles of Hayti had contributed to this influx of French settlers more than anything else; and immigration began from Ireland and Scotland under the English rule. While Jamaica was going back, and Barbados only holding its ground, Trinidad was rapidly advancing; and its imports and exports steadily increased. Unlike most of the West India Islands, which consist mostly of belts of alluvial soil surrounding an interior of barren highlands, nearly the whole of Trinidad is extremely productive. Its chief exports are sugar, cocoa, and asphalt. British Guiana, which has a very similar history, was at one time placed under the same governor with Trinidad. It is divided into three provinces, named from its three great rivers, Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice. It has become by far the most flourishing of the English sugar colonies, exporting more hogsheads every year than any of the islands. The planters are wealthy men, and use steam-power and modern machinery for sugar-making. Trade has also grown up in the timber of the inland forest districts, and gold and diamond mining are important industries. A boundary dispute with Venezuela which had been awaiting settlement for half a century suddenly became an international question of the first importance in 1895. The United States, in its traditional attitude of friendliness toward smaller American nations, demanded that Great Britain submit the entire dispute in all its phases to arbitration. Though the demand was just, the circumstances and manner of its putting forth might easily have seriously imperiled the peace of the two great Anglo-Saxon nations. Fortunately a rupture was avoided. The English people and press in admirable temper refused to think of a war with their kinsfolk upon such an issue, and the English ministry wisely conceded the demand, saving English rights as to lands actually occupied for fifty years. The result of the arbitration thus agreed to was on the whole favorable to the territorial claims of British Guiana. The decision was pronounced October 3, 1899. The constitution of Trinidad as a Crown colony has not been changed; but it has already been found necessary to modify the old Dutch constitution of Guiana by adding to the old Court of Policy, as the legislative council is called, a certain number of elected representatives, who have a voice in the grant and disposal of taxes. The Court of Policy consists of seven official and eight elective members. To these are added six financial representatives elected by the people, making up the "combined court," which has control of the financial affairs of the colony. The Roman-Dutch law still prevails in civil cases.

Within the last twenty years the sugar industry of the West Indies has suffered further disaster. In the period 1885-1896 the value of sugar exported decreased by nearly one-fourth and general bankruptcy was threatened. A royal commission, appointed in 1896, made a careful investigation and reported that the sugar industry in these colonies was in danger of great reduction and in some cases of extinction from the competition of beet sugar, produced under the stimulus of national bounties and protective duties, that the well-being of the laboring class and the ability of the colonies to meet their own expenses of government were seriously threatened. The commission found it impracticable for England to impose retaliatory duties upon bounty-aided sugar, but recommended other measures of relief. Among them the development of the fruit trade with New York and London, the settlement of laborers upon their own land, improved means of communication, and the encouragement of emigration. This programme in its general outlines was adopted, advances of 663,000*l.* to the colonial governments were authorized by the imperial parliament in 1899; 250,000*l.* was granted in 1902-1903 in aid of the sugar industry, and a subsidy of 25,000*l.* for lines of steamers to Canada and Great Britain. Thus the principle of free trade has been departed from in the case of the British West Indies, and a sinking industry has received direct and indirect assistance from the imperial treasury. What success the new policy is to have is uncertain. The American conquest of Porto Rico and the favorable commercial relations of Cuba with the United States put the British islands at a disadvantage in their best and nearest market. The planters distrust the relief measures and think that nothing will avail but retaliatory duties on bounty-aided beet sugar or admission to the American market on the most favorable terms. As there seems to be no hope of the former, many planters have expressed a desire for annexation to the United States. The present condition of the British West Indies affords a great contrast to the artificial prosperity of the eighteenth century. Of their population of less than two millions, a small and decreasing proportion is white; their trade with England is comparatively insignificant, and their government has become a charge upon the imperial treasury.

The Bermudas and the Falkland Islands make up with the West Indies the sum of the British colonies on the American coast. The Bermudas, so named from their Spanish discoverer, a cluster of three hundred islands, most of which are barren and uninhabited rocks, are among the oldest of the English colonies, possession having been taken of them in 1609 by Sir George Somers, who was cast upon them on his voyage to America. Somers made his way to the continent on a rough boat which he had built out of Bermudan cedar-wood; and a year or two afterward the English took possession of the islands, which are in fact the relics of the old North American colonial possessions of Great Britain, just as the Channel Islands are the relics of its French possessions. Shakespeare mentions the "still-vexed Bermoothes," and Waller, who once lived here, wrote a curious and amusing poem, minutely describing the islands and their products. Before American independence they were of importance as affording a convenient naval station, and since that time their importance in this respect has of course increased. But they are not a colony in the ordinary sense of the word, though the inhabitants have ever since 1620 had a representative government. The settlement of the Falkland Islands is more modern. They lie in an ungenial climate off the southern extremity of America; and though they were discovered at the end of the sixteenth century, no nation thought them worth occupation until they became, about a century ago, important as stations for carrying on the whale fishery. The French at one time tried to colonize them; but the final dispute concerning them arose between England and Spain. The Buenos Ayreans at one time made a show of entering upon them as the heirs of the old Spanish empire in these parts, but they could make nothing of the place, and in 1833 the English established an organized government. Since the growth of commercial intercourse between Europe and the ports of Chili, Peru, and Ecuador, the Falklands have greatly risen in importance as a coaling and victualing station for the Pacific, and in this respect they have begun to compete with the port of Rio Janeiro. The soil, though reduced by cold winds to what seems a barren heath, has been found well adapted for sheep farming; and the port of Stanley now sends large quantities of wool, as well as other raw produce, to the English market. The Falklands have never been any other than a Crown government.

The Seven Years' War made an end of the rivalry of France to the English power in India. During the wars of the American and French revolutions France attempted without success to reëstablish her dominion there, but the only result was that England was left without a European competitor in the peninsula. The native states were incapable of firm and just government, and the inevitable result has been that English authority has spread over the whole country and has come to be exercised directly by government agents instead of through the East India Company. The wonderful story of the growth and organization of British rule extending from the borders of Persia to the Straits of Malacca, and including several outlying islands and military posts, is well worth detail consideration, but we here may only mention briefly a few of the British possessions in this region outside of India proper.

Some important acquisitions which have been made in the East stand on the borderland between Indian and Colonial history, which it is not even now easy to separate by a rigid line. We have seen how the wars of the revolution put England in possession of the Dutch settlements on the Island of Ceylon and of the French colony of Mauritius. England would perhaps not have taken them but for the growing importance of her empire in India; but they do not belong to Indian history, neither of them having ever permanently passed into the hands of the East India Company, or having any connection with the Indian Government. Ceylon was indeed soon after its capture annexed to the presidency of Madras, but in 1801 it was erected into a separate colony. The Portuguese and Dutch had only possessed the coasts, but the English soon destroyed the barbarous kingdom of Candy and made themselves masters of the whole of the island. Having abundance of rich land lying vacant, which the Crown has sold at a moderate price, and plenty of native labor, it has since attracted English capital to a great amount, and produces large quantities of sugar and coffee. It has always remained a Crown colony, though not of the strictest kind, having a legislative council of seventeen members, of whom nine are officials and eight are nominated by the Crown as representatives of the different races and classes in the community. The population in 1901 numbered 3,578,333, and of these only 9509 were Europeans. The harbors of Trincomalee, on the east coast, and Colombo, on the west, are strongly fortified. The former is the headquarters of the British East Indian fleet. The colony exports large quantities of tea and other tropical products. The Maldive Islands, lying 500 miles to the westward, are tributary to the Ceylon government, though ruled by a native sultan. They have a population of 30,000.

The further extension of the British possessions in the East, including the occupation of the Straits Settlements, properly belongs to the history of British India. Malacca, the chief port on the Straits which lead to the Indian archipelago, had been, as we have seen, an important possession of the Portuguese until they were driven from it by the Dutch. The English in 1795 took it from the Dutch, and after the war the Dutch formally ceded it to England. The English were afterward obliged to take possession of a large tract of this coast, by the name of British Burmah, and they fixed on the island of Singapore, at the south end of the Malay peninsula, to be the commercial center of their new acquisition. Sir Stamford Raffles took possession of Singapore in 1819, and in half a century the settlement had grown to be the most important in the eastern seas. The neighboring island of Penang had long been held by the East India Company, and in 1824 the district of Malacca was acquired from the Dutch in exchange for the English settlements in Sumatra. These three possessions make up the Straits Settlements, with a population in 1901 of 572,249, and a vast trade centered at Singapore. In 1867 they were made independent of the Indian government and organized as a Crown colony, under the administration of a governor, an executive council and a legislative council made up of nine official and seven unofficial members, five named by the Crown and two by the chambers of commerce of Singapore and Penang. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the protection of Great Britain was gradually extended over the independent native states of the peninsula. These are united as the Federated Malay States under the governor of the Straits Settlements as high commissioner. Each state is governed by a state council made up of native authorities and British officials under the advice of a British resident. The population of these states in 1901 was 678,595, of whom 1422 were Europeans and Americans. The state of Sohor, at the southern end of the peninsula, with an estimated population of 200,000, is under British control in respect to its foreign relations, but is governed by a native sultan. Other dependencies of the Straits Settlements are the Cocos or Keeling Islands, 1200 miles southwest of Singapore, population 698; and Christmas Island, 700 miles further east, population 558. The chief productions of the Malay peninsula are pepper, sugar, rice, tapioca, tea, coffee, gutta percha, timber, gold, and tin. Christmas Island exports large quantities of phosphate.

The history of another Asiatic settlement takes us back to the days of Albuquerque. That great general had been repulsed by the Turks from the flourishing port of Aden; and under their rule the place lost all its trade, owing to the discovery of the route to India round the Cape, and fell into decay. The Turks were expelled in the eighteenth contury, and the place fell into the hands of hostile Arabs. An English Indiaman was wrecked near the town in 1837, and the Arabs plundered the cargo and maltreated the crew and passengers. The East India Company had for some time cast envious eyes upon the spot, and they now took possession of it. Aden had been a very important place in ante-colonial times. It now recovered its prosperity, and since the opening of the Suez canal it has become one of the first commercial stations in the world. From a wretched Arab village Aden has become a city of 40,000 inhabitants, and it has been made almost as impregnable as Gibraltar itself. Its chief importance is as a military, naval, and coaling station on the route to India. It occupies a peninsula 100 miles east of the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, with a small adjoining territory on the mainland. The Island of Perim at the entrance to the Red Sea, and the Kuria Muria Islands off the coast of Arabia are dependent on it. Aden is under the government of Bombay and is ruled by a political resident. The Island of Sokotra, off the African coast, about 500 miles east of Aden, with a population of about 12,000, came under British protection by treaty with the Sultan in 1876. Other outposts of India are: the Bahrein Islands in the Persian Gulf, population 22,000—a British protectorate since 1867; the Laccadive Islands, 200 miles off the Malabar coast, population in 1891, 14,000; the Andaman Islands, in the Bay of Bengal, 340 miles north and west of Sumatra, and the Nicobar Islands, about midway between the Andamans and Sumatra. The Andamans are used as a penal settlement by the Indian Government. The two groups have a population of 25,000, and are governed by a chief commissioner from India.

The British possessions in the Mediterranean deserve mention here, as they are chiefly important as military and naval stations on the route to India. Gibraltar, a rocky promontory on the southern coast of Spain, commanding the entrance to the great midland sea, was seized August 4, 1704, by a detachment of British sailors from the fleet under Admiral Rooke. A Spanish attempt to recapture it in 1704-1705 failed. By the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 England retained the fortress. The Spaniards, after another unsuccessful siege, erected strong fortified lines across the neck of land in 1729, thus cutting it off from the mainland. During the War of the American Revolution they made their last great attempt to regain it, but the grand attack of September 13, 1782, in which their three years' siege culminated, was beaten off by the English. Malta, an island fifty-eight miles south of Sicily, was seized by Napoleon on his way to Egypt in May, 1798, and garrisoned by 4000 troops, who were soon blockaded by an English fleet and compelled to surrender in September, 1800. At the Peace of Amiens, in March, 1802, England promised to restore Malta to its former owners, the Knights of St. John, but refused to fulfill this stipulation, which was one of the grounds for the renewal of the war in May, 1803. At the Peace of Paris in 1814 England retained the island. Cyprus was acquired from Turkey in 1878. At the end of the Russo-Turkish War in that year the Treaty of San Stephano was superseded by that of Berlin, signed July 13. On June 4 England, by a secret treaty with Turkey, secured the promise of certain reforms in Asia Minor and in return guaranteed the Turkish possessions in Asia, receiving Cyprus for a military and naval station as a means of enforcing the guaranty and a pledge for the execution of the promised reforms. The island was to be regarded as an integral part of the Turkish empire, and the surplus revenue was to go to the Sultan. The consent of Russia and Germany to this arrangement was obtained when the treaty was signed. French opposition was bought off by an agreement giving France a free hand in Tunis. Gibraltar is under a governor and commander in chief who combines in himself all governmental and legislative powers. The area of the colony is less than two square miles and its population in 1911 was 19,586 in addition to the garrison. Its only importance is as a naval base, and for this purpose it is heavily fortified and elaborately equipped. Malta, however, is important as a colony aside from its strategic value. Its area, including the neighboring islands of Gozo and Camino, is 117 square miles, with a population in 1911 of 215,879. The government is partially representative, the legislative council having six official and thirteen elected members, but in case of necessity legislation may be enacted by executive order, and this power has been recently used because of a legislative deadlock on the language question. Italian is the official language of the courts, and in the schools parents may elect for their children either Italian or English. Agriculture is the main industry, especially the raising of small fruits and grain. The importance of Malta as a naval base has declined because of the small size of its harbor. The island of Cyprus, lying in the Mediterranean Sea near its northeastern angle, and forty-one miles from the coast of Syria, has an area of 3584 square miles, and in 1901 its population was 232,022. Its chief products are grain, olives, and fruits. The administration is in the hands of a British high commissioner, who has the powers of a colonial governor. The legislative council contains six official and twelve elected members, of whom three are chosen by Mohammedan voters and nine by other voters. The English judges in the lower courts are associated with native judges, both Christian and Mohammendan. Under the terms of the Treaty of 1878 92,800*l.* ($464,000) are paid annually to Turkey.

Of the English possessions in the Pacific the self-governing colonies of Australasia have already been dealt with. The Crown colonies remain to be considered. A settlement, tributary to the trade of Singapore, was made in 1846 by Sir James Brooke, on the Island of Labuan, off the coast of Borneo. Besides being governor of the British colony of Labuan, Sir James also became Rajah of the neighboring district of Sarawak, on the main land of Borneo, and his government here rescued the poor natives from the wretched and defenseless condition into which they had fallen. Brooke's deeds in Borneo form one of the most encouraging pages of history. Soon before he died he offered his rajahship to the English Government, who refused it, and he was succeeded in it by his nephew Charles in 1868. The government was no doubt right in not accepting Brooke's offer. The United States have also refused a proposed concession to them by one of the sultans of Borneo, though American citizens, fired by the example of Brooke, have sometimes hoisted the Stars and Stripes on its shores. In 1877 certain English subjects obtained from native chiefs land cessions in North Borneo. These were transferred to the British North Borneo Company, chartered in 1882. In 1888 a formal British protectorate was proclaimed, and two years later Labuan was placed under the government of the company. The governor of the territory is appointed by the company subject to the approval of the colonial secretary. British North Borneo contains an area of about 30,000 square miles and a population of 200,000. A flourishing trade in timber and tropical products is carried on through Singapore. In 1888 England proclaimed a protectorate over Sarawak, area 50,000 square miles, population 600,000; and Brunei, area 15,000 square miles, population 45,000. Sarawak is under Rajah Sir Charles Brooke, and Brunei under a native sultan. These possessions together occupy the entire northern and northwestern portion of the great island. The southern and eastern part is held by the Dutch.

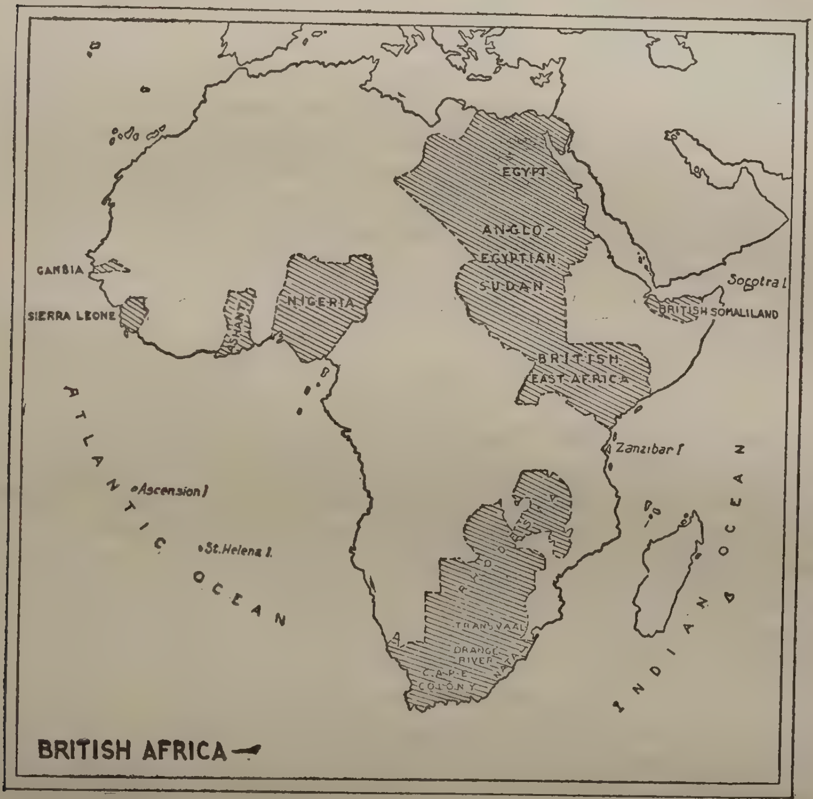
Another insular commercial colony was formed in 1841, at the close of the Opium War with China, on the island of Hong-Kong, near the mouth of the Canton River, by the name of Victoria. Hong-Kong is Great Britain's "Eastern Gibraltar," an important military and naval station, and the center of a large commerce with China and Japan. The civil population in 1909 was 337,160, of whom 6860 were Europeans and Americans. There is also an imperial garrison of 3200 and Hong-Kong is the headquarters of the British China squadron. The government is carried on by a governor and executive council. There is also a legislative council composed of six official and six nominated unofficial members, whereof two are Chinese. In 1898 England leased from China for ninety-nine years a tract of 376 square miles on the mainland, with a Chinese population of 100,000. In the same year, following the lease of Port Arthur to Russia, England leased from China the port and bay of Wei-hai-wei, on the southern side of the Straits of Pe-chi-li, for so long a period as Russia remains in possession of Port Arthur. The colony is governed by a commissioner and has an area of 285 square miles and a population of 123,000.

England has a few other possessions in the Pacific. The assumption of a protectorate over the southeastern portion of New Guinea in 1884 has already been narrated in the chapter on Australia. It was made a Crown colony in 1888 and is administered by the Australian Commonwealth which provides the expenses of government. British New Guinea has an area of 90,540 square miles, a population of 350,000, of whom 250 are Europeans. It has abundant natural resources for the production of tropical goods. British influence in the Fiji Islands dates from the coming of Wesleyan missionaries in 1835. A native request for British protection was denied in 1858, but Australian sentiment in favor of annexing the group to the empire became too strong to be resisted, and in 1874 this was accomplished by treaty with the natives. The colony is under a governor (who is also high commissioner for the western Pacific) and a legislative council composed of six official and six unofficial members nominated by the Crown. The natives are controlled through their local chiefs. There are 200 islands in the group (80 inhabited), with an area of 8045 square miles and a population in 1901 of 117,870, whereof 2447 were Europeans, 17,105 Indians, and 94,397 Fijians. The islands export sugar and other tropical products. The Tonga or Friendly Islands were declared to be under British protection in 1899. They are governed by a king and an assembly of nobles and elected representatives of the people. The islands have an area of 390 square miles and a population of 18,959, nearly all natives. Numerous other islands in the possession or under the protection of England are under the jurisdiction of the high commissioner for the western Pacific.

The African colonies of Great Britain are numerous and important. We have already considered the great self-governing South African group of mixed English and Dutch nationality, and have space here for only a brief enumeration and description of those not already dealt with.

In British colonial history we have an odd exemplification of the saying that "the last shall be first, and the first shall be last."

The first place in importance is occupied, as we have seen, by colonies of very late growth. The last is occupied by some petty settlements on the West African Coast, which date from the time of Queen Elizabeth. These settlements lie in four groups on the coast. Two of them, those on the Gambia River and the Gold Coast, belong to the history of the slave trade, having formerly been the marts where slaves were purchased by the English slavers. The other two, those of Sierra Leone and Lagos, are connected with its abolition; the former, as we have already seen, having been founded as a refuge for its rescued victims, and the latter in 1862, as a station for more completely destroying it. The old West African Settlements were soon superseded by the New World as a source of the gold supply of Europe, and they lost most of their importance with the abolition of the slave trade. The African Company, to which they were always subject, was ruined



BRITISH AFRICA

in consequence, and in 1807 the Crown took possession of them in order to make sure that the slave trade ceased. At first the three groups of settlements had separate governments. In 1821 they were united, but separated again in 1842. In 1866, following the same policy as in the West Indies, they were again placed under one government fixed at Sierra Leone. But this arrangement lasted only until 1874. At present they are separately administered. The British dominion on the Gold Coast was extended by purchase of the slave trading posts of the Dutch and the Danes and by wars against Ashanti, resulting in a protectorate over that country in 1896, and its annexation together with the so-called Northern Territories in 1901. The governor of the Gold Coast administers Ashanti as a separate possession. The small colony of Gambia, at the mouth of the river of that name, has been in like manner extended by a protectorate over the neighboring country, with an area of 4500 square miles and a population of 90,000. The area of Lagos colony is 3460 square miles, of the Lagos Protectorate 25,450 square miles, with a total population of 1,500,000. Sierra Leone has an area of 4000 square miles and a population of 76,665. The area of the Sierra Leone protectorate is 30,000 square miles and its population 1,000,000. The Gold Coast, with Ashanti and the Northern Territories, has an area of about 110,000 square miles and a population of nearly 2,000,000. The government of each of these colonies is of the strict Crown colony type. In each the governor is assisted by executive and legislative councils appointed by the Crown. Their chief products are tropical goods and gold, their soil is rich, their resources are being systematically developed by railroads, and the trade is in a satisfactory condition. The climate effectually precludes European settlement on any large scale.

From Lagos English exploration, trade and political control spread to the delta of the Niger and upward along the course of that great river until the region of French influence on its upper waters was reached. The National African Company, created in 1882 to develop this vast region, was chartered in 1886 as the Royal Niger Company, and began to make treaties with the native tribes. British protection over the whole country was proclaimed in 1884 and 1887. On January 1, 1900, the company surrendered its charter and its territories came under the direct control of the imperial government. The total British possessions in this region amount to 400,000 square miles, with a population estimated at 25,000,000, composed of tribes speaking different languages and either Mohammedan or Pagan in religion. There are two governments, Northern and Southern Nigeria, each under the control of a high commissioner. Justice is administered by English and native courts, and the administrative organization of the country varies with the development of the several tribes and their distance from the seat of government. Native military forces under British officers are maintained, and strong efforts are being made to suppress cannibalism and slave raiding. The commercial possibilities of the country are large, but they await development by railways, and above all the establishment of settled order. Another British possession on the western coast is Walfish Bay, valuable as the only good national harbor in Southwest Africa, and much coveted by the Germans who have colonized that region. Its total area is but 430 square miles. It was made a British protectorate in 1878 and is now under the government of Cape Colony.

British South Africa, including Cape Colony, Natal, and the recently conquered Boer states, now known as the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal Colony, has already been dealt with. Other possessions in this region are Basutoland, the Bechuanaland protectorate, and Swaziland. The former lies to the north and east of Cape Colony, bounded west and northwest by the Orange River Colony, east and northeast by Natal. It has a fine climate and is well watered, but European settlement is prohibited in the interest of the natives, who number about 265,000. The area of the country is about 10,000 square miles. It was annexed to the Cape Colony in 1877, but was given a separate government in 1884. It is now governed by a resident commissioner under the high commissioner for South Africa. The Bechuanaland Protectorate should not be confused with Bechuanaland proper, which was a separate Crown colony until annexed to Cape Colony in 1895, forming the most northern portion of that government and bounded on the east by the Transvaal colony and on the north by the Malopo River. The protectorate comprises the great arid region north of the river and west of the Transvaal, stretching to the border of German Southwest Africa. It is governed through the native chiefs by a resident commissioner under the high commissioner for South Africa. The population is estimated at 200,000. Swaziland lies near the southeastern corner of the Transvaal colony, by which it is bounded on the north and west. On the east it touches the territory of Portugal and Natal and on the south and west the districts formerly the most southwesterly in the Transvaal, but which were transferred to Natal in 1902. The area of Swaziland is about 8300 square miles, and its population 70,000 natives and a small number of whites. It was formerly administered by the South African Republic.

The beginnings of Rhodesia have been narrated. It embraces an immense area from the Transvaal Colony north to Lake Tanganyika, and from the British Central African Protectorate and the Portuguese and German possessions on the east to the Congo Free State and Portuguese West Africa on the west, including the upper course of the Zambesi River. The portion north of the river is divided into Northeastern and Northwestern Rhodesia. Both are administered by the British South Africa Company. The former contains an area of 120,000 square miles and a population of about 340,000. Northwestern Rhodesia is bounded on the north by the Congo Free State, west by Portuguese West Africa, south by the Zambesi and German Southwest Africa, and east by Northeastern Rhodesia. Both provinces are rich in natural resources, but their European population is insignificant in number. It is otherwise with Southern Rhodesia, which stretches southward from the Zambesi to the borders of the Transvaal colony. Here there is a European population of about 12,000 and 500,000 natives. The government is under the joint control of the company and the imperial government. There is an administrator for the company and a resident commissioner appointed by the colonial secretary. The executive council is composed of the resident commissioner and four or more appointees of the company approved by the colonial secretary. The legislative council, over which the administrator presides, consists of the resident commissioner, seven appointees of the company approved by the colonial secretary, and seven representatives elected by the registered voters. Its ordinances have the force of law when approved by the high commissioner for South Africa, but may be disallowed within a year by the colonial secretary. Judges of the high court are appointed by the colonial secretary on the nomination of the company. The sale of arms and liquor to natives is severely restricted, and land is reserved for tribal settlements subject to the mineral rights of the company. The country is divided into the two provinces of Matabeleland and Mashonaland. Both are rich in gold and other minerals, including coal. There is through railway communication from Victoria Falls on the Zambesi to Cape Town and to Beira on the coast of Portuguese East Africa. A line is under construction north of the Zambesi and its extension to Lake Tanganyika is projected. Among the instruments of modern civilization at the command of this new colony are telegraphs, telephones, newspapers, hospitals, public libraries, schools, churches, banks, and hotels. The total area of all Rhodesia is about 750,000 square miles. The British Central African Protectorate lies along the western shore of Lake Nyassa and the valley of the Shire River, by which the waters of the lake discharge into the Zambesi. It lies east of northeastern Rhodesia and extends southward like a wedge into Portuguese East Africa. It has an area of 42,217 and a population of 900,000, of whom but 450 are Europeans. The government is administered by a commissioner under the British Foreign Office. English enterprise in this region began with the missionary labors of Livingstone.

From the Cape of Good Hope northward to Lake Tanganyika the British dominion stretches for 2000 miles without a break. Here it is interrupted by the territories of German East Africa on the east of the lake and the Congo Free State on the western shore. It begins again in Uganda, 500 miles further north, and extends 2300 miles to the mouth of the Nile. The Uganda Protectorate comprises the country between the great lakes at the sources of the Nile, including the northern shores of Victoria Nyanza and the upper course of the Nile, thence northward to latitude of 5°. The total area of 80,000 square miles is divided into five provinces, of which the kingdom of Uganda is one. The latter is directly administered by British officers, but for the most part the natives of the protectorate, numbering 4,000,000, are controlled through their chiefs. The European population is about 300. A military force of 4000 natives, with British officers, is maintained, also a naval force of steamers and sailing vessels. From Gondokoro in the north there is communication by steamers with Khartum. The protectorate is under the government of a British commissioner. East of Uganda, stretching southeast to the seacoast and bounded on the south by German East Africa, is the British East African Protectorate, with an area of 350,000 square miles and a population of 4,000,000. It is governed by a commissioner and is divided into provinces, each under a sub-commissioner. The European population is insignificant in numbers. A railway was completed in 1901 from Mombasa on the seacoast to Kisumu on Lake Victoria. The protectorate maintains a military force of 1400 men and 1300 police. The Zanzibar Protectorate includes the Island of Zanzibar, off the coast of German East Africa (640 square miles), and the Island of Pemba (380 square miles). The population of these islands is about 200,000. During the minority of the sultan the government is administered by an Englishman as prime minister and regent. The sultan has nominal rights of sovereignty over the coast of the British East Africa Protectorate and certain ports on the coast of Italian Somaliland.

North of Uganda is the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and north of the Sudan Egypt itself, nominally a dependency of Turkey, but actually under British control since 1882. A British financial adviser controls expenditure, the Egyptian army is organized under British officers, and a British army of occupation is supported out of the Egyptian treasury. This British control of Egypt has long excited the jealousy of other powers, especially France, but received the sanction of French approval by the Anglo-French treaty signed April 8, 1904. The English administration, in spite of great obstacles, has restored Egyptian credit, reorganized the army, established justice, abolished forced labor, carried through great public works for irrigation and other purposes, and reconquered the Sudan. The latter country had revolted under the Mahdi in 1882, but was reconquered in 1898 by Lord Kitchener, the sirdar or commander in chief of the Egyptian army. The Sudan is under the joint control of England and Egypt. It extends from N. lat. 5° to N. lat. 22,° about 1200 miles along the course of the Nile, and from the Red Sea and Abyssinia on the east indefinitely westward. Kartum, the capital, is connected by railway, steamboat, and telegraph with Cairo, and a railway is building from Suakin on the Red Sea to Berber on the Nile. The area of the country is about 950,000 square miles and the population 3,500,000. The Somali Coast Protectorate, proclaimed in 1884, embraces 68,000 square miles along the southern coast of the Gulf of Aden. It is bounded west and south by Abyssinia, and east and south by Italian Somaliland. The population is about 500,000, mostly Mohammedan, and British authority is not yet fully established in the interior. The country is administered by a consul general.

Besides her possessions on the African mainland, England holds several important islands off the coast. At unequal distances from the West African coast lie also the two British islands of St. Helena and Ascension. St. Helena was taken from the Dutch in 1673, and was used by the East India Company as a victualing station; the only historical fact connected with it is that it was the scene of the last years and death of Bonaparte. Ascension Island was taken as a naval station by the English during Bonaparte's confinement, and has been occupied as such ever since. To guard against all possibility of Bonaparte's escape, the English also seized and fortified at the same time one of the three rocky islets in the extreme south of the Atlantic Ocean, 1200 miles from St. Helena, and 1500 from the Cape of Good Hope, called Tristan da Cunha, from an old Portuguese sailor of that name. The small community which formed there was incapable of self-support. They lived on supplies from whaling vessels, and as the whales suddenly forsook the South Atlantic most of the inhabitants were removed to the Cape of Good Hope in 1862. A handful of English people, however, who have become attached to the place, still prefer to live in isolation and poverty on this almost barren rock.

The island of Mauritius, lying about 500 miles off the east coast of Madagascar, was conquered from the French in 1810. It is under a governor and a council of twenty-seven, ten of whom are elected by the people. The planters, who are mostly of French descent, care but little about self-government. During the century of French occupation it had been little more than a naval station, and it was under English Government that it became important as a sugar island. The most important date in Mauritian history is the year 1825. The island had hitherto been classed by English financiers with the East Indies, and its sugar, like theirs, had paid a duty of 37*s.* per cwt., but in that year it was placed on the same footing as the West Indies, which only paid 27*s.* per cwt. A large influx of planters immediately followed, and there was an inexhaustible supply of labor at hand in India. The area of the island is 705 square miles and the population in 1901 was 375,385. Together with Mauritius, England also came into possession of the Seychelles, Amirante, and some other islands in the Indian Ocean. Cotton has been planted here, and Port Victoria, on the largest of the Seychelles, has a magnificent harbor, and is a coaling station. These islands were formerly dependent on Mauritius, but are now under a separate governor, with a legislative council appointed by the Crown. The total area of the seventy-four islands in this colony is about 148 square miles, and the population by the census of 1901 was 19,237.

Having thus briefly traced the history of all the British colonies, both dependent and independent, since the French Revolution, we are able to see that much of English colonial greatness is due to the successes of the English nation in the wars which followed the revolution. Of the three sets of colonies which we have classed as independent, the nucleus of one important group, the South African, was actually acquired in those wars, and the exhaustion of the French nation in those wars very much contributed to the peaceable settlement of another (the Australian). Of the dependent colonies whose history has been traced in the present chapter, Trinidad, Guiana, Ceylon, and Mauritius were also actually acquired in those wars. These new acquisitions were, in fact, the choicest parts of the whole European colonial system, and their subsequent prosperity quite justifies the judgment of the British statesmen of 1814. We have also seen how the decay of the West Indies is to be traced, mainly through a great movement in favor of free trade, but partly through slave emancipation, not only to the general dawn of liberal ideas in Europe which marks the last quarter of the eighteenth century, but also to the rivalry of these newly acquired colonies; and we may perhaps conclude that the system of British dependent colonies was transformed, quite as much as any of the independent colonies, by the great political movements which belong to the time which we have named "the half-century of Transition." The history of this section of colonies also well illustrates the limits within which colonial independence seems to be practicable. Isolated settlements necessarily depend for defense on the mother-country; and a small and impoverished community, such as several now are in the West Indies, clearly does well not to aspire to an independent position. Where the great mass of the population belongs to an inferior race, as in Ceylon and Guiana, it would be difficult for the English settlers to reconcile their own political rights with those of that inferior race, who are equally free men with themselves; it therefore seems likely that dependent colonies will always exist, and the last quarter of the nineteenth century witnessed a renewal of colonization of this character by many of the great powers upon an enormous scale.

England maintains her vast empire at an annual cost of about 3,000,000*l.*, in addition to maintaining in her dependencies an army of 62,835 men, according to the army estimates of 1902-1903. To these figures should be added the European army in India 73,498 men. For the same year the colonies contributed 397,000*l.* for imperial defense, besides large contributions from India and Egypt. Canada has undertaken the whole charge of her defenses on land and the last British garrisons left the country in May, 1906. So far as possible each colony is required to bear the expenses of its own government and police. English oversight of colonial affairs was at an early date exercised by the privy council, later by a special commission. Under Charles II. a new body was created for this purpose called the Council of Trade and Plantations, but in 1674 the business was transferred to a committee of the privy council. In 1696 the Board of Trade was established to collect information on colonial affairs, but without executive power. The evil results of this divided responsibility led to the abolition of the board in 1782. The office of Secretary of State for American affairs, which had been created in 1768, was abolished at the same time. Colonial affairs were in the hands of the Secretary of State for War until 1854, when the office of Secretary of State for the Colonies was created. An independent Board of Control for East India, established in 1784, was the forerunner of the Indian office. The spirit in which questions concerning the colonies were dealt with was for a long time reactionary as the direct result of American independence. The revolt of the American colonies was thought to be due to democratic institutions, and every effort was made to prevent the development of democracy in the colonies still possessed by England or recently acquired. When liberalism became dominant in England in the middle of the last century, self-government was fully conceded to the more advanced colonies, and in some cases perhaps conceded too early, but many of the leaders of liberal opinion were indifferent to the colonial greatness of the country, and looked forward with satisfaction to the time when all the colonies would be independent and England free of the burden of caring for them. Though these views were never generally accepted by the English people, they in many cases affected unfortunately English colonial policy. To this cause may be attributed much of the weakness that marked the measures of the British Government in South Africa.

The federation of Canada, while in the main a result of the application of liberalism to colonial affairs, and an event observed with gloomy forebodings by some who feared that it would lead to complete independence, was in fact a turning point in the history of the British empire. It stimulated a broader patriotism in the colonies and thus promoted a feeling of attachment to the empire and pride in its history. As schemes for the federation of Australia and South Africa were more and more discussed, this feeling of imperial patriotism strengthened and became one of the characteristic features of the reaction from liberalism which marked the last quarter of the nineteenth century. This reaction extended to economic as well as political relations. The policy of free trade, adopted in England in the middle of the century, had not been followed by the great self-governing colonies. On the contrary, these soon used their new liberties to protect their own industries at the expense of those of the mother country. In the meantime the sharp industrial competition of Germany and the United States drove many English manufacturers to desire preferences in the colonial markets. The measures adopted by the imperial government to relieve the distress in the West Indies constituted a distinct though slight departure from the old free-trade policy. For the imperialists it was but the entering wedge. Joseph Chamberlain, formerly colonial secretary in the Balfour conservative government, sought to drive it home by advocating a distinct policy of preference for colonial goods in the English market and for English goods in the colonies. In 1897 Canada, under the irritation of tariff controversies with the United States, had granted such a preference, and in 1902 a conference of colonial premiers had recommended like action in other colonies. A preference for colonial goods in England, however, means the partial exclusion of foreign food-stuffs and a probable increase in their price, which might be a great hardship to the laboring population, and a distinct menace to England's industrial efficiency. Chamberlain found it necessary to resign from the cabinet in order to advocate his views with freedom. His commercial policy is avowedly for the purpose of uniting the empire more closely. Balfour, the prime minister, proposed retaliatory duties upon goods of those countries that tax British manufacturers heavily, a less radical departure from the principles of free trade.

The new imperialism looked for some form of federation for the whole empire. The practical difficulties of such a step would be great, but the establishment of some sort of council for the empire, with very limited powers, was hoped for. Once firmly established, the council might develop into an imperial parliament in time. For years, the only progress in this direction showed itself in the holding of periodical conferences of the premiers of the self-governing colonies and the colonial office in London, these conferences recommending the adoption of certain policies by all the colonies concerned and by the mother country.

The Imperial Conference of 1911 was to some extent enlightened as to the threatening condition of European affairs. Other discussions centered around the control allowable to a dominion in its foreign affairs. Projects for separate naval forces for each dominion were laid out, together with rules governing action in the event of war. The Conference of 1912 witnessed further assertion of the distinct individuality of each dominion as an entity of the Empire; but when war came, it was not possible to consult the dominions first—yet they rallied at once to the support of the Empire. The Imperial Conference met in 1916, 1917 and 1918, establishing an Imperial War Cabinet in addition to itself. This Cabinet expressed the views of the dominions and India, but all war decisions were left to England, a situation which ended with the great conflict. The dominions were individually represented in the Peace Conference and became members of the League of Nations. It is even possible for one of them to become a non-permanent member of the League Council. Dominions hold mandates under the League of Nations; some of them have made separate treaties; and, as in the instances of Canada and the Irish Free State, which have their own ministers at Washington, they are acquiring the right to separate diplomatic representation.

In the new relations of Britain and the dominions, the Empire is sometimes referred to as a Commonwealth of Nations, with Great Britain 'first among equals.' India is not yet autonomous and her nationalistic movement was, in 1928, still a source of unrest. Even Great Britain is not static, but reported in 1928 a movement for separate parliaments for Wales and Scotland.

Chapter XV

COLONIAL EMPIRE OF FRANCE. 1800-1910

THE colonial empire of France in the west has shrunk to narrow dimensions. Nothing of North America, New France, of Canada, Acadia, and Louisiana now remains to the French people except the little fishing islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon near the southern coast of Newfoundland, whither the hardy sailors of Granville and St. Malo still ply in the summer time, while the wealth and civilization of Santo Domingo are but feebly represented by the decaying islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe. St. Pierre and Miquelon were taken by the English in 1778, restored in 1783 and again taken and restored twice during the Napoleonic wars. This group of rocky islands has a total area of but ninety-three square miles, and in 1897 the population was 6352. The chief industry is cod-fishing, in which the people busy themselves directly, besides furnishing supplies to the French fishing fleet on the Banks of Newfoundland.

In the West Indies the colonial wars of the eighteenth century left to France Hayti, Guadeloupe with its dependencies, Martinique, and Guiana. The fate of French dominion in Hayti and the massacre of the white population by the blacks has already been told. The decrees of the revolutionary convention in France produced anarchy in the other French islands. In Martinique the war of races was ended by the capture of the island by an English force in 1794. In Guadeloupe the negroes for a time held the interior of the island, but the whites mastered them at last and took a fearful vengeance for the massacres committed by the negroes in their rising. The English occupied Guadeloupe also in 1794, but within three months were expelled by a French force under Victor Hugues. At the Peace of Amiens in 1802 Martinique was restored to France. Napoleon now adopted the policy of restoring the old French colonial empire. In 1798 he had attempted to found an empire in the east by the seizure of Malta and the occupation of Egypt, but his invasion of Syria had failed, his fleet had been destroyed by Nelson in the battle of the Nile, and he had returned to France leaving an army in Egypt, which was forced to surrender to the English in 1801. An English force had also captured Malta. Peace with England made it possible for France to reassert her power oversea, and Napoleon's design was nothing less than the restoration of the French colonial system and trade in America, substantially as it had existed before the Seven Years' War. This system turned upon the tropical production of sugar and the supply of food, timber, and other necessaries for the plantations from a temperate zone colony on the mainland. This last function had been discharged by Canada under the old régime, and the center of French sugar production had been Hayti. Napoleon therefore undertook to reconquer Hayti and reduce the blacks to slavery again. The failure of that enterprise has been described. To supply the place of Canada in his new colonial empire Napoleon extorted from Spain by the secret Treaty of San Ildefonso, ratified March 21, 1801, the cession of Louisiana, comprising the city of New Orleans and the vast territories stretching westward from the right bank of the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains. The successful resistance of the blacks of Hayti made Louisiana valueless for Napoleon's colonial plans, and he accordingly sold it to the United States in 1803. War with England was renewed in the same year. It resulted in the loss of Martinique and Guiana in 1809, and of Guadeloupe in 1810. Upon the fall of Napoleon all were restored to France.

The economic history of the French West Indies resembles that of the neighboring British islands. They have undergone the same economic revolutions caused by the abolition of slavery, by the discontinuance of the protection once accorded to colonial products, and by the competition of beet-sugar. We have seen how slavery was abolished by the revolutionary convention in France and reëstablished by the consulate. The restored Bourbons set up the old colonial system again, but the world movement for emancipation made itself felt in France also. Between 1832 and 1848 many measures for the benefit of the negroes were adopted, which the planters regarded as steps toward emancipation and resisted accordingly. Plans were making for safeguarding the interests of the whites and the economic welfare of the colonies when the revolution of 1848 occurred. The new government proclaimed the immediate emancipation of all the blacks and prohibited long-time contracts of service. The amount of compensation paid to the whites was about $100 for each negro, probably an insufficient sum, and its payment was delayed more than a year. The economic crisis was aggravated by this delay, but the general course of events was the same as in the British West Indies. The production of sugar declined one-half in three years, then slowly recovered until it exceeded its former amount. The French planters in 1855 followed those of Trinidad, British Guiana, and Cuba in organizing a supply of coolie labor, and in improving their crude agriculture. The discontinuance of the old colonial monopoly was a matter of slower growth.

After the loss of Canada and the independence of the United States it became necessary to open the trade of the French islands in some measure to American products. The wars of the revolutionary and Napoleonic era had of necessity stopped the old channels of trade and at last severed all political connection between the colonies and France. On the restoration of the old monarchy it was necessary to relax many of the old restrictions of the *pacte colonial,* which in the French system answered to the English Navigation Act. From 1826 foreign flour was admitted subject to a moderate and decreasing duty; reciprocity treaties were negotiated with England and the United States, which made large inroads into the old colonial monopoly. The sugar colonies of France had suffered greatly since the time of Napoleon from the competition of home-grown beet-root sugar, notwithstanding the tax laid upon the latter in 1843, and Cuban and Javan sugars were at last admitted to the French markets on equal terms with sugar grown in the French islands. The planters now demanded free trade in provisions, free navigation, and freedom to refine their sugar in the islands, and their demands were gradually conceded. In 1861 these colonies were allowed to trade with foreign countries; in 1866 they were removed from the fiscal control of the home government, and local assemblies, on the model of those which had been founded under the Charter of 1830 on the basis of the colonial councils established by that of 1814, were allowed to impose their own customs duties; so that the French West Indies practically enjoy independence. But a new protectionism has succeeded the old. France adopted the policy of preferential trade with the colonies in 1884, when the colony of Réunion established import duties of certain foreign products in exchange for equality of colonial and French products, competing in the French market, and a differential of five per cent. in favor of colonial products which do not compete with French products, the revenue from the new customs duties to be applied in encouraging local industry by remission of taxation and by the payment of bounties.

The government of the French West Indies has reflected the political changes of the mother country. In the reign of Louis XVI., colonial assemblies were set up by Neckar and Turgot. The Restoration did not go so far, but made use of committees of consultation as organs of local opinion. The new establishment of colonial assemblies, with full fiscal powers, has been set forth. In addition, the colonies elect representatives to the French parliament. Unfortunately universal suffrage has given political control into the hands of the negroes and has stimulated race hatred. The white element of the population is subjected to oppression and is in danger of disappearing altogether. Well-informed observers fear that the history of Hayti will be repeated and that the French Antilles will relapse into barbarism. Their population in 1911 was 190,250 for Guadeloupe and dependencies, with an area of 688 square miles; and 182,500 for Martinique, with an area of 381 square miles. In May, 1902, St. Pierre, the chief city of Martinique, was destroyed, and substantially all of its inhabitants instantly killed by a volcanic eruption from Mont Pelée. Besides the sugar islands, French Guiana remains a melancholy relic of the old West Indian Empire. This colony has never thriven since its first occupation, and suffered severely by the hasty emancipation of the slaves in 1848. A boundary dispute with Brazil was settled by arbitration in 1900. The chief industry is gold-mining. By the census of 1911 the population was 39,946 and the area of the colony 30,500 miles. France has maintained a penal settlement in Guiana since 1855.

Until 1862 the only French possessions in the East Indies were the ancient trading settlements of Mahé on the Malabar coast, with Pondicherry, Karikal, Yanaon, and Chandernagore, on the Coromandel coast, being all that England had spared to the power which had once been her competitor for the Indian empire. A few shiploads of Indian goods carried from these ancient settlements to Saint Nazaire are thus all that remains of the great visions that were more than half realized by Dupleix. The French ports were only preserved from oblivion by opening them to ships of all nations in 1816, after that long war in which French commerce was for the time destroyed and the French colonies, including these ancient Indian possessions, fell into English hands until peace was restored. Chandernagore, Pondicherry, and Yanaon once possessed a flourishing trade in cotton goods, designed for sale in the populous island of Bourbon, and in the West African settlement of Senegal. The protection granted by France to the textile fabrics of its Indian settlements having ceased in 1864, their trade has been since assimilating itself to that of the rest of India and the share of France in it has declined. The colony is under a governor, who resides at Pondicherry and is assisted by a general council of twelve members, of whom five are officials and seven are chosen by the local councils. All must be qualified by a knowledge of the French language. This general council was established by decrees dated 1872 and 1874. The former decree also established a local council in each of the five settlements, one-half of the members in each case elected by persons of European blood and one-half by the natives. These local councils have but little power. There are ten communes with municipal institutions. The colony is represented in the French Parliament by one senator and one deputy elected by the voters without distinction of race. It is one of the few French dependencies which pays its own way and something more, sending to the French treasury 920,000 francs annually. The administration is somewhat faulty and tends to yield too little to native sentiment. With a total area of 196 square miles and a population of about 275,000 these settlements are of practical value to France chiefly as coaling stations.

The French rule in Indo-China began under the second empire. In 1858 a war with the king of Annam was undertaken by France for the protection of French missionaries in that country. It resulted in the occupation of the port of Saigon, on the southeastern coast of the peninsula of Farther India. By a treaty concluded in June, 1862, the king of Annam ceded to France the port and the three neighboring provinces, opened certain of his ports to European trade, and guaranteed religious freedom throughout his dominions. Ill treatment of Christian missionaries continued nevertheless, and resulted in the annexation of three more provinces in 1867, the king appealing in vain for aid to his suzerain, the emperor of China. The six provinces thus obtained make up Cochin-China, and include the delta of the Mekong River. The French had hoped to tap the trade of the southern provinces of China by way of this river, but a scientific expedition in 1866-1868 proved this to be impracticable. French enterprise was thus attracted to the Song-Koi or Red River, in the northern portion of the Annamite dominions called Tonkin. The delta of the Red River was infested by pirates, and French activity in that quarter resulted in a collision with the natives, wherein a small French force under Lieutenant Garnier was ambushed and destroyed. Negotiation resulted in a treaty concluded in 1874, which opened Red River to French commerce and allowed the stationing of French consuls with armed escorts in certain towns. Under this treaty France claimed a protectorate over the country, but China, the suzerain of Annam, refused to acknowledge the validity of the treaty and sent Chinese troops into Tonkin. In 1882 a French expedition, sent out under Commander Riviere to enforce the treaty, captured the town of Hanoi and established the French power over the delta of the Red River, but was soon destroyed by the natives and its leader killed. Strong reënforcements were sent out. Admiral Courbet, in 1883, bombarded Hué, the Annamite capital, and extorted a treaty acknowledging the protection of France over Annam and Tonkin, but it had to be made good by hard fighting against the "Black Flags," or brigands, and against the Chinese troops in the country. In the ensuing war with China the French seized a part of Formosa, and secured some successes on the Chinese frontier of Tonkin. Peace was concluded in 1885, France agreeing to evacuate Formosa, and China conceding to France exclusive control of the foreign relations of Annam and the substantial mastery of the whole country including Tonkin. In 1893 French protection was established over the neighboring territory of Laos, and the French boundary pushed westward to the Mekong River throughout its whole course from the Chinese frontier to the northern boundary of Cambodia. This kingdom, lying north of the first French colony of Cochin-China, on both sides of the Mekong, recognized the French protectorate in 1863, and in 1884 its administration was undertaken by the governor of Saigon. By a treaty negotiated with Siam in 1893 France secured the full control of the right bank of the Mekong and a strip of territory extending twenty-five kilometers westward from the river. All French Indo-China contains about 363,-

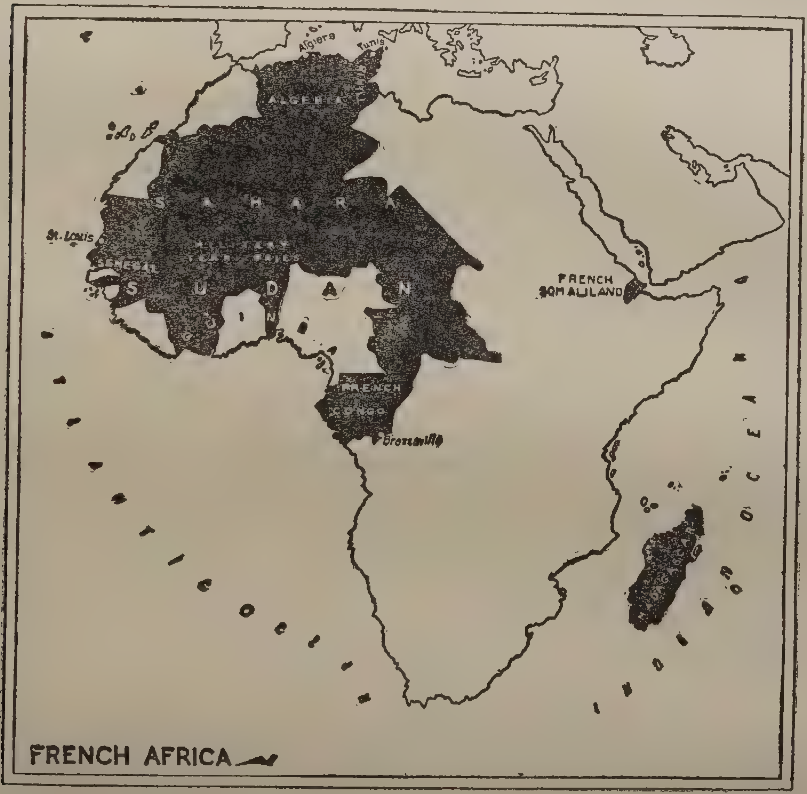
000 square miles and a population of about 20,000,000. Further expansion to the west and the absorption of a great part of Siam is probable. An agreement between France and England, signed January 15, 1896, extended the French sphere of influence over the eastern portion of that kingdom, while guaranteeing the autonomy of the valley of the Meinam. The terms of this agreement were further defined by the treaty signed April 8, 1904. In the event of the partition of China France expects to get the island of Hainan, off the Gulf of Tonkin, and the southern provinces near the present French frontier. As a foothold in this region the Bay of Kwang-Chau on the coast of the Lien-Chau peninsula opposite Hainan was extorted from China in April, 1898, upon a lease for ninety-nine years. Eighteen months later France was given possession of two islands commanding the bay, and in 1900 all the territory was placed under the authority of the governor general of Indo-China.

The capital of Indo-China was removed in 1902 from Saigon to Hanoi, the chief town of Tonkin. The governor general exercises his powers in the several dependencies through "residents-superior" except in Cochin-China, which is under a lieutenant governor. There is a military force of 10,901 Europeans and 14,975 natives under French officers. Cochin-China is under full French sovereignty. Its colonial council contains representatives of the French citizens and Asiatics, with official members and members chosen by the chamber of commerce. Saigon and Cholen are municipalities on the French model. A college was established in 1874 at Saigon to train natives for the public service. The colony is represented in the French Parliament by one deputy. The other dependencies are governed by the native officials under the supervision of French residents. A permanent trained civil service and the rule of able governors general have established law and order and secured general prosperity. Ambitious plans of railway building have been undertaken by the government to develop the resources of the country. The chief product is rice, but sugar, spices, and coffee are also grown, and valuable coal deposits exist in Tonkin.

The French were late comers in the Pacific and found the best regions occupied by their old rivals. A project for the colonization of New Zealand was thwarted by the English settlement of those islands, as already narrated. England had also effectively occupied the coasts of Australia. At the time of the accession of Napoleon III. the sudden rise of Australia through the goldfields of Victoria was the talk of the whole world. Not a great distance from Australia was the island which the English had named New Caledonia, but had never thought worth occupying, though it had been more than once included in a colonial commission. The new emperor saw in this island the germ of a future Australasian France, and as the French were really in want of a healthful and remote site for a penal settlement, the English made no objection to its occupation by the French Government. New Caledonia therefore became French soil in 1853. The new settlement was to be developed on a plan exactly similar to that of New South Wales. The convicts were to be partly employed on government farms, and partly distributed among the free settlers, who were expected to emigrate in large numbers. These expectations have not been altogether disappointed, for at the end of half a century New Caledonia contains 12,253 free Europeans besides 10,056 convicts. The transportation of convicts thither ceased in 1900. The native population is 29,106 and the land is granted out to applicants of all nationalities at a small redeemable quit-rent. The chief agricultural products are coffee, maize, tobacco, grapes, manioc, and pineapples. Valuable mines of nickel, cobalt, and chrome are worked, and deposits of coal have been discovered. The area of the island is 7650 square miles, not including its dependencies, the Isle of Pines, Wallis Archipelago, Loyalty Islands, Huon Islands, Futuna, and Alafi. The colony is administered by a governor general and an elective general council. Since 1887 the New Hebrides group of islands has been under the joint protection of England and France.

Ever ready to seize new ideas, the French have been foremost among the nations of Europe in taking up ground in the islands of the Pacific. We have already seen how Cook first made the Pacific world known to Europe in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Since that time English and American enterprise, without losing sight of the islands, has been sufficiently occupied with the continental lands of Australia and North America. The French have, in the meantime, just as in North America, been acting as the pioneers of the rest of Europe. Side by side with the English and Americans, their whalers gradually became acquainted with the natives of the most important groups, and the whalers were soon followed by missionaries and petty traders. Wherever these establish themselves a certain amount of political influence follows: and in this way the English, Americans, French, and Germans have made many isolated beginnings. In some cases the influence of a European nation has been already extended over a whole island group. In this way, as we have already seen, the English have taken possession of the Fiji Islands. The Marquesas Islands were annexed by the French under Louis Philippe in 1842. The ministers of the monarchy of July assumed at the same time a protectorate over the Society Islands and one or two other adjacent groups. In addition to the Society and Marquesas groups France now holds: The Tuamotu Islands, or Low Archipelago; the Leeward Islands; the Tubuai, or Austral Islands with Ravaivai, Rurutu, and Rimatara; and the Gambier Islands; a total area of about 1520 square miles, with a population of about 30,000. The islands are administered by a governor, with a privy council and an elective general council. In former years Tahiti especially suffered from paternalism, with excessive formalities, passports, heavy harbor dues, and other vexatious exactions which repelled European settlement and commerce. This system, abolished in 1861, left a bad name, which checked development for a long time. Of all these colonies Tahiti and Morea, among the Society Islands, alone contain any considerable number of European settlers, who produce, by the help of native labor, small quantities of sugar, vanilla, copra, fruits, and mother-of-pearl for export. Regular steam communication exists with San Francisco and New Zealand and among the more important islands. By far the greater part of the island trade is with the United States, England, and English colonies. These may be small beginnings, but there is no doubt that these groups of islands are destined to rise vastly in importance with the growth of America and Australia. By whom the fruits of the seed which the French are thus fostering will be reaped, is a different question. The English race seems destined sooner or later to enter into the labors of the French, and either Australian or American influence must in the end prevail in the Pacific settlements.

French possessions in Africa and the neighboring seas are extensive and important. We have seen how in the great European wars between 1793 and 1814 the English took from the French all their colonies and possessions that were worth taking at all. The poor figure which was made after the peace of 1815 by the French colonial empire greatly chagrined the French nation, who as we have seen had at one time in their history shown real genius for colonial enterprise. Under Louis XIV. France had been a great colonial power; under the Regency it had in this respect fast declined, and its ruin was completed by the wars of the Revolution and the Empire. But the French, always an elastic people, resolved to redeem their colonial reputation; and in 1821 they made a fresh beginning on the northeastern coast of Madagascar, by taking possession of the island of Sainte Marie. The warlike Hovas after a long struggle forced them to abandon for the time an attempted settlement on the mainland of Madagascar; but they still persevered in their colonial ideas, and in 1840 negotiated a treaty with Tsimandroho, king of the Sakalaves, who had been driven by the conquering Hovas from their ex-

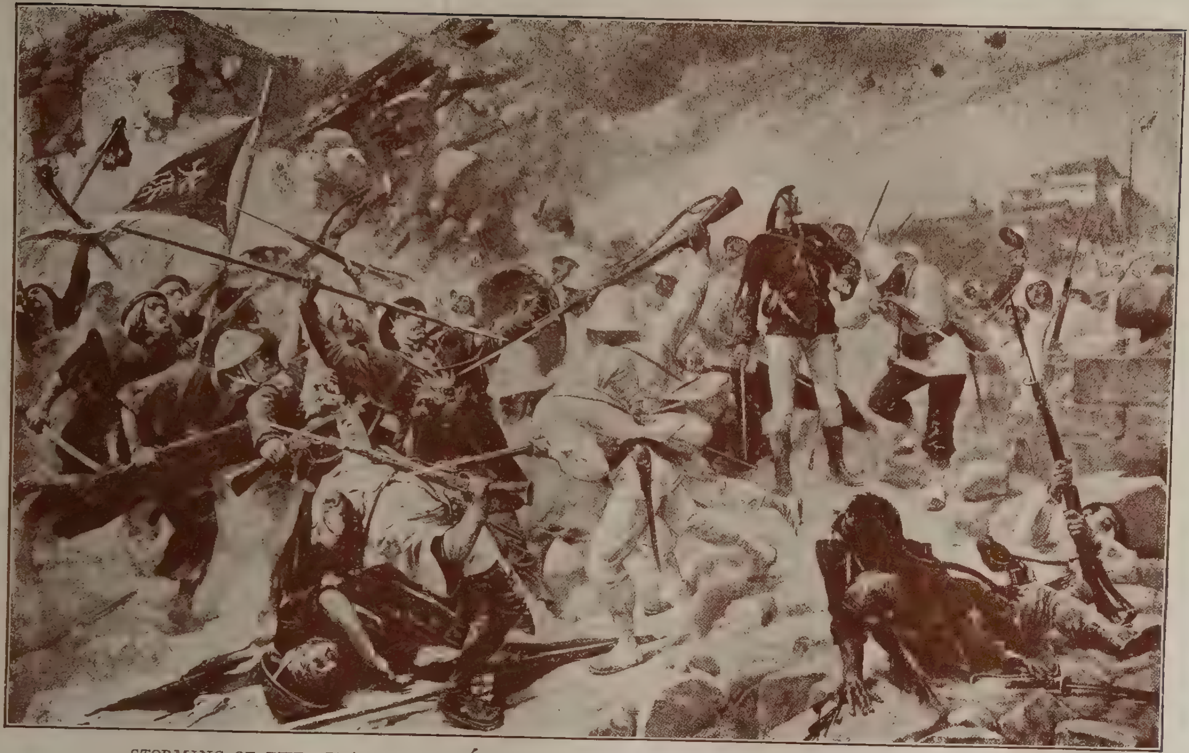


FRENCH AFRICA

tensive possessions in Madagascar to the Island of Nossi Bé, on the northwest coast. By this treaty that potentate placed himself under the protection of the French and besought their aid in regaining from the Hovas his lost territories. France took possession of the Island of Nossi Bé and established a colony there, but did nothing for Tsimandroho on the mainland. This neglect, added to irritation at the abolition of slavery, led to a rising of the Sakalaves in 1849, but it was easily put down. In 1841 possession was taken of the Island of Mayotte, about 200 miles off the northwest coast, and in 1886 a protectorate was established over the neighboring Comoro Islands. These, with Mayotte, are now under the jurisdiction of the governor of Réunion. For many years French and English merchants and missionaries struggled and intrigued for a dominating influence at the Hova court in Madagascar. The French claimed dominion over the northwest coast by virtue of their old treaty with Tsimandroho, and in 1883 presented an ultimatum to the Hova sovereign, demanding the cession of the disputed territory and the payment of a large indemnity. This led to war. Tamatave, on the eastern coast, was bombarded and occupied by the French, and hostilities were carried on with varying fortune until 1885, when a treaty was negotiated ceding to France Diego Suarez, near the northern end of the great island, subjecting the foreign relations of Madagascar to French control and providing for a French resident general at Antanànarìvo. In 1890 England recognized the French protectorate over Madagascar, but the Hova government steadily refused to do so. In 1895 a strong body of French troops occupied the capital and put down all opposition. In 1896 the queen signed a declaration conceding the full control of the French resident general over the foreign affairs and internal administration of the country, and the right of the French republic to maintain troops there to enforce its authority. On August 6 of that year the island and its dependencies were declared a French colony, and slavery was summarily abolished on September 27. The deposition and exile of the queen followed in 1897. The French administration at first met with ineffective but annoying resistance, and the overthrow of the Hova power gave the signal for bloody reprisals against them by tribes which had been subjected to their rule. The island is administered by a governor general, assisted by an administrative council. Military rule still exists in many provinces, but natives are largely employed in the administration. The military force is 15,697 men, one-half natives. Madagascar is 975 miles long and 358 miles in breadth, with an area of about 227,750 square miles and a population of 2,500,000, of whom 15,000 are Europeans. Of the natives 500,000 have been Christianized. The highlands of the interior are believed to be suitable for European settlement. The chief products of the country are gold, rafia or palm-fiber, cattle, hides, and rubber. The wretched roads of the country are being improved, a railroad is building from Tamatave to Antanànarìvo, postal service has been established throughout the island, and 2830 miles of telegraph are in operation, with cable connections to Mozambique. In 1892 the French put in force in Madagascar, with some modification, the French protective tariff. This caused protests to be made by the English Government, but they were withdrawn by the Anglo-French treaty signed April 8, 1904.

The Isle of Bourbon or Réunion, situated near Mauritius, in the Indian Ocean, 420 miles east of Madagascar, has had much the same fortune as the West Indies. Like them its great industry was the production of sugar by slave labor. The firmness of the local government and the distance of the island from Europe saved it from the war of races which wasted the French Antilles during the French Revolution, but could not prevent conquest by England in the Napoleonic wars. It was restored to France upon the conclusion of peace. After the emancipation of the slaves in 1848, Réunion, as the Island of Bourbon was now named, would have been ruined without further protection, and a bounty was therefore granted, to diminish every year until it became extinct in 1870. In the meantime, preparations were being made for the extinction of the bounty. In 1861, together with the West India sugar colonies, Réunion was emancipated from the control of France by the total abolition of the *pacte colonial;* the people were soon empowered to fix their own customs duties, on condition of providing for their own defense, and the colony thus became practically independent. It was the first to accept the new policy of preferential trade as described in the account given in this chapter of the West Indies. It has an area of about 965 square miles and a population of about 173,000. In 1896 Mayotte and the Comoro Islands, lying halfway between Madagascar and the African coast, were placed under the governor of Réunion. Together they have an area of about 760 square miles and a population of about 58,000. Réunion is administered by a governor, privy council, and elective general council, and is represented in the French Parliament by a senator and two deputies. Other French islands in the Indian Ocean are St. Paul, Amsterdam, and Kerguelen.

Algeria, on the southern shore of the Mediterranean opposite the coast of France and stretching indefinitely southward into the Sahara, became a French possession by a gradual and costly conquest which began in 1830. The country is divided into three departments, having together an area of 184,474 square miles and a population of 4,739,331, of whom about 640,000 are Europeans. French and naturalized foreigners and Jews make up the greater portion of the non-native population, and there are large numbers of Spaniards and Italians also. The Algerian Sahara, with an area of about 123,500 square miles, with a population of about 50,000, is not included in these figures. Each of the three departments sends a senator and two deputies to the French Parliament. There is also a superior council for the colony, composed of delegates from each of the departments, who meet once a year for discussing and voting the colonial budget. The governor general is assisted in his administration of the country by a council with advisory powers. The wild tribes of the Sahara still hold themselves free and France maintains in the colony a military force of 57,000 men. Tunis, on the southern shore of the Mediterranean immediately east of Algeria, is nominally a vassal state of Turkey. The French invaded the country and established their protectorate in 1881. The government is carried on in the name of the native Bey, under the French foreign office. The French minister resident general, who is minister for foreign affairs for Tunis, governs the country with the aid of a ministry of seven Frenchmen and two Arabs. Native courts administer justice between native litigants, and French courts in cases where either party is a European. The French dominion is upheld by an army of 19,460 men. The area of the country is about 51,000 square miles, and the population about 1,900,000, including about 24,000 French, besides soldiers and sailors, and about 80,000 Italians and Maltese. French control in the Sahara west of the Nile valley, an area of about 1,500,000 square miles, including the Libyan desert and the half-civilized state of Wadai, has been recognized by England. The Anglo-French treaty signed April 8, 1904, gives France a free hand in



STORMING OF THE BREACH OF HUÉ, THE CAPITAL OF ANNAM, BY ADMIRAL COURBET IN 1883

Painting by Lionel Royer

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Morocco on condition that no fortifications are to be erected between Melilla on the Mediterranean and the mouth of the Sebu River on the Atlantic, a distance of about 150 miles on each coast from the Straits of Gibraltar, and that free trade is to be maintained for thirty years. Notwithstanding the vague Spanish claims to Morocco we may look to see the rights thus secured by France converted into effective control.

French West Africa is now organized under one government, including Senegal, French Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Dahomey, and the territories of Senegambia and the Niger. Senegal includes the coast between the Spanish territory on the north and the Gambia River on the south. It has an area of 80,000 square miles and a population estimated at 1,180,000, and is represented in the French parlement by one deputy. There are also three "military territories" on the upper Niger, of which the most important is that centered at Timbuktu. By the treaty of April 8, 1904, with England, France has secured a rectification of frontier between the Niger and Lake Chad, with access to the northwestern shores of the lake, through a fertile country. French Guinea occupies about 95,000 square miles on the coast north of the English colony of Sierra Leone and south of Portuguese Guinea. Its population is about 2,200,000. The Anglo-French treaty of April 8, 1904, transferred to France the Los Islands off the coast. The Ivory Coast, 116,000 square miles in area, with a population of 2,000,000, is east of Liberia and west of the English colony of the Gold Coast. Dahomey stretches northward from a frontage of seventy miles on the coast between the German Togoland and the English Nigeria, widening toward the interior and covering an area of 60,000 square miles, with 1,000,000 population. The territories of Senegambia and the Niger occupy 210,000 square miles on the upper waters of the Senegal and Niger. Their population is estimated at 3,000,000. From Dahomey west and south for more than 600 miles the coast is occupied by British Nigeria and the German colony of Kamerun. South of Kamerun and between it and the Congo Free State, a distance of 500 miles by the coast, is all French territory except for a small holding by the Spanish in the northern portion, and by Portugal in the southern. This region is called French Congo from the great river which separates it on the east from the Congo Free State for a distance of 400 miles, whence its northern affluent, the Ubangi, carries the boundary northward 400 miles more. The line then turns eastward and runs over 500 miles farther to the borders of British East Africa, thence in a general northwesterly direction along the borders of the Anglo-Egyptian Soudan into the Sahara another 600 miles. The boundary toward the German Kamerun runs westward from the coast 400 miles, thence in a general northerly direction to Lake Chad, the southern shore of which is divided between the two nations. This vast region of 450,000 square miles, with a population estimated at 10,000,000, is administered by a commissioner general at Libreville, on the coast, assisted by a lieutenant governor at Brazzaville, on the lower Congo. Thus French Africa occupies the bulk of the northern and western part of the continent from the Mediterranean to the Congo and the Atlantic, hemming in the various territories of other nations scattered along the coast. Its government varies from full sovereignty in Algeria through all grades of protection and vague influence over the tribes of the interior. Railroads and telegraphs are building or projected in all the west coast colonies to connect the sea with the navigable upper waters of the Niger and the Congo, and it is proposed to unite Algeria and Central Africa by the railway across the Sahara. The attempt of the French to occupy the upper Nile valley proved abortive, as also did the expedition of Marchand from the west coast to Fashoda. At Fashoda Marchand was about 600 miles west of the French Somali Coast Protectorate at the entrance of the Red Sea, and could he have maintained himself there friendly relations with Abyssinia might have permitted the establishment of communications and French influence from west to east across the continent. The French Protectorate on the Somali coast is administered by a governor and general council, and has an area of 46,000 square miles and a population of 200,000. A railway has been built from Jibutil, on the coast, to Hara, in Abyssinia.

The entire colonial empire of France, if we include Algeria and Tunis, embraces an area of about 4,000,000 square miles, and a population estimated at 51,000,000, but it is nowhere suited to the development of a new French nation, such as the English race has created in the United States, Canada, and Australasia, and is creating in South Africa. Population is stationary in France and emigrants are few. Even if this were not so, the southern shores of the Mediterranean are preoccupied by a numerous and hardy people and elsewhere climate forbids extensive European settlements. French colonies must remain for the most part colonies of exploitation, wherein Frenchmen will act as civil rulers and as organizers and directors of commerce and industry. Much of the territory has been but recently acquired, and the charges paid by France for its administration are still very heavy, amounting to about $20,000,000 a year. Though this may be very materially reduced by better administration of colonial affairs and the decrease of military expenses as peace and order are more firmly established throughout the newly acquired territories, it must for many years remain a considerable sum. Successful colonization demands heavy initial expense and a long period of persistent and unremunerative endeavor. The total trade of the colonies, including Algeria and Tunis, is about $275,000,000 a year, whereof two-thirds is with France. The recrudescence in France of those ideas of exclusive economic policy which underlay the old *pacte colonial* has been noted. The extreme advocates of this policy would establish a customs-union by extending around all the colonies the high protective tariff of France. This has already been substantially done with respect to some of them, notably Madagascar. In others, such as Senegal, a system of preferential trade exists whereby moderate advantages are mutually given to French and colonial products. In a third class the prevailing system is substantial free trade, French and foreign products competing on equal terms in the colonial markets. This lack of uniformity is due in part to the international agreements and understandings under which spheres of influence have been recognized and boundaries defined, of which an example is the agreement as to Morocco in the treaty of April 8, 1904. It is probably well for France that her freedom of action has been thus restrained. An empire with territories scattered over all parts of the world cannot with safety be subjected to the logical uniformity so dear to the French mind, but the peculiar circumstances of each colony must be allowed to override system and order. The customs-union policy works hardships to the colonies subjected to it, and embodies the essential vice of the old *pacte colonial,* the regulation of their economic life for the benefit of the mother country. The home administration of French colonial affairs in the early period of colonial enterprise, after the restoration of the Bourbons, was in the hands of the ministry of marine. It was in 1881 transferred to the department of commerce, in 1882 returned to the marine and in 1889 assigned to an undersecretary in the ministry of commerce and industry. A separate ministry of the colonies was not organized until 1894. It has no control over Algeria and Tunis, the former being an integral part of the republic and the latter under the control of the foreign office. The right of representation in the French Parliament enjoyed by the older colonies does not work well in practice. Members chosen by universal suffrage, sometimes not without flagrant corruption, to represent the negroes of the West Indies or the natives of India, lack the numbers, character, and unity of purpose essential to the exercise of a proper influence in the national legislature. Moreover, French legislation for the colonies is enacted by the executive in the form of decrees, the necessary power to this end having been delegated to the emperor in 1852 and retained by his republican successors. The power to legislate remains with the chambers and when exercised is supreme, but it is ordinarily unused. Accordingly the *"Conseil Supérieur des Colonies"* has been created, composed of the colonial senators and deputies with delegates from other colonies and official and private persons specially qualified by knowledge or experience to give advice upon colonial affairs.

In local administration most of the colonies, through their elective councils, are self-governing to a certain extent. Such powers are most ample in the older colonies, but the unwise gift of universal suffrage has perverted them to the uses of race-hatred and corrupt political methods. The executive branch of the colonial government has not wholly escaped from the bad influences of French politics, which have led to frequent changes in the service and a useless multiplication of offices. The faults of the French colonial administration are the faults of the bureaucrat: devotion to routine, a passion for uniformity, arbitrary disregard of native institutions and prejudices, and paternalism. To these we may add certain national characteristics: impatience, timidity in undertaking great and necessary public enterprises, combined with the inability to adopt rough and ready expedients essential in a new country. The perfectionism of the trained French architect and engineer will be satisfied with nothing less than is demanded by the standards of his craft in France. Therefore public works of all kinds are exceedingly costly in the French colonies. (For later developments in French possessions, see ANCIENT EMPIRES, FRANCE and AFRICA. Also chapter on MANDATES.)

Chapter XVI

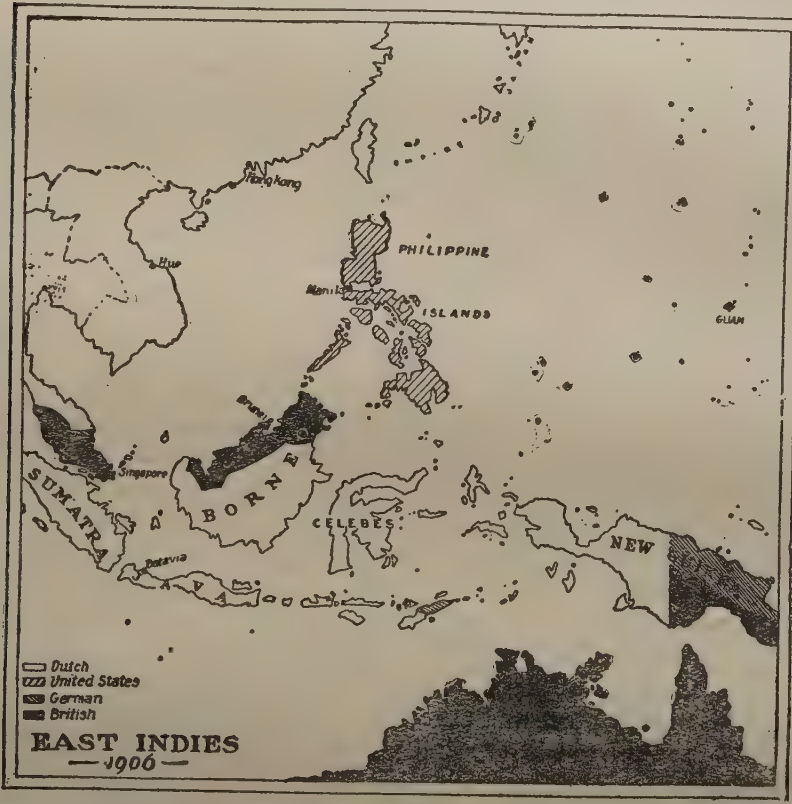
THE DUTCH COLONIAL EMPIRE. 1800-1928

AMONG the old rivals of England in the field of colonial empire the Dutch alone have steadily maintained an important place. The colonial greatness of Spain and Portugal has entirely passed away and the vast colonial empire now held by France is a new creation, but the Dutch have continued to hold their possessions in the West and East Indies save for a brief interval during the Napoleonic wars, when Holland was dominated by France and its colonies were occupied by the English. After the fall of Napoleon England restored to the Dutch all their colonies except the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, and a portion of Guiana, and to-day their colonial possessions are 783,000 square miles in area, with a population of about 36,000,000. These are all in the tropics and are necessarily of the plantation rather than of the settlement type, but the colonial enterprise of the Dutch should be credited with the foundation of a new Dutch nation in the temperate regions of South Africa, which is now a part of the British empire and has already been described.

The Dutch West Indies lie in three different groups, St. Eustace, Saba, and St. Martin, among the Leeward Islands, Curaçao, Aruba, and Bonaire, off the coast of Venezuela, all composing the colony of Curaçao; and Surinam or Dutch Guiana, which is a colony by itself. As we have seen, down to the French Revolution, the Dutch West Indies were in the hands of commercial companies; since that time they have been in the hands of the Dutch Government. St. Eustace is famous in history for its seizure and plunder by the English under Rodney during the American War of Independence. The Dutch Leeward Islands have shared the fate of the English and French; and the barren islands on the Venezuelan coast, having derived all their importance from the contraband trade carried on with Spanish America, have sunk into insignificance since its independence. Nor is the story of Dutch Guiana more interesting. It is chiefly remarkable as the scene of the long and desolating servile war which lasted for sixty-two years (1715-

1777), and was only terminated by an armament of European troops. Since that time, Surinam has been heavily in debt. The abolition of slavery was delayed until every other species of misfortune had done its worst in Surinam, and only effected in 1863. The colonists, however, have done their best to secure a supply of free labor, and Surinam still exports small quantities of sugar, as well as producing cocoa, coffee, bananas, and rice, besides gold. The government of Surinam is an official autocracy: for though nine elected and four official members sit in what is called the House of Assembly, they have no power of initiating any measure, nor control over the government expenditure. If the governor takes any action against the advice of the majority he must give express reasons therefor in writing. The elected members are chosen by voters qualified by the payment of taxes. The colony of Curaçao is ruled by a governor and executive and legislative council appointed by the Crown and each island is under a subordinate official appointed by the Crown. Surinam has an area of 46,060 square miles, Curaçao 403 square miles. Their population in 1900 was 68,968 and 52,301 respectively.

If the Dutch West Indies have shared the decay of the other European colonies in that quarter of the world, far different has been the history of their East Indian possessions, comprising the bulk of the great Eastern Archipelago, which lies south and east of the continent of Asia, and stretching from Sumatra eastward to the British and German territory in the eastern end of New Guinea, and northward to the British possession in the northern part of the Island of Borneo. These vast territories, like those of British India, are held in varying degrees of dependence upon their European masters, and are classified as lands under direct government, vassal lands and confederated lands. By far the most important is Java, which, with the neighboring small island of Madura, forms a central or home district. All the other islands being reckoned as outposts, or "beyond seas." Owing to the unusual fertility of the soil and the long establishment of Dutch rule in Java and Madura, the greater part of the wealth of the archipelago and four-fifths of the population are concentrated here, though these two islands embrace less than one-fourteenth of the total area of the Dutch East Indies. Some account has already been given of the Dutch East India Company and its monopoly of trade with the Dutch possessions in the East, which it controlled by direct or indirect means. The company was successful as a commercial enterprise only during its early years. It soon became an agency for levying tribute upon the native states of the Indies, and from the tribute thus levied came all the profits of the company when there were any profits at all, for during the greater part of the eighteenth century the company was insolvent, and maintained its credit by paying large dividends which had not been earned. The native tribute took the form of "contingents" and "forced deliveries," being supplies of certain tropical products exacted annually from the native governments for a stipulated low price or without any compensation whatever. In exacting the tribute the Dutch officials became in some degree the directors of the industry of the native states, in effect requiring them to plant certain crops in specified quantities, sufficient to pay the amount due. From this sprang the "culture system," of which we shall speak later.



The company, as we have already seen, had long been decaying; and after the rupture with England, in 1780, its losses could no longer be disguised. The capture of the Dutch homeward-bound Indiamen by the English cruisers not only made it impossible to pay its dividends, but even necessary to apply to the States General for a loan. The States General, as was to be expected, granted the loan only on condition of a strict inquiry being instituted into the company's affairs; and as early as 1789 it was resolved to send out commissioners to Batavia to remedy the evils which had grown up during just a century of conservatism. Six years elapsed before the commissioners made their report; and as in the meantime Holland had once more become a power hostile to England, the condition of affairs had become very much worse. The company now entirely ceased to control its own affairs, though it continued for some time to have a legal existence. Until 1808, after the loss of Ceylon and the Cape, the Dutch Indies were administered by a committee of the States General; and in that year the government was formally vested in the nation. Louis Bonaparte, now King of Holland, sent out to Java a military officer named Daendels. It had long been settled that coffee was the most promising staple for Java; and Daendels at once enforced its culture to such an extent that he was able to boast of having had 40,000,000 coffee trees planted. This vigorous system lasted only until 1811, when it was suddenly overthrown by the English invasion. Batavia was taken in that year by Auchmuty; Daendels exchanged his coffee planting for a commission in Napoleon's expedition to Russia; and the Dutch Indies for five years remained in possession of the English. The change to the English rule, which was far less oppressive than that of the Dutch, especially in its last phase, when the power and resources of the government had been strained in order to recover past losses, seems to have been grateful enough to the inhabitants of the Dutch Indies; and there were many, both in the colony and at home, who supposed that the conquest was to be permanent. This, however, was not to be the case. In 1816 the Dutch Indies were restored to Holland, and the epoch was signalized by revolts in several parts, finally culminating by that of Dipa Negara, in 1825, in the heart of Java itself, which lasted five years. Famine and pestilence had in the meantime swept over the colony, and the necessity became clear for changes of a sweeping character, if the Dutch Indies were ever to be made worth keeping. Besides, since the English merchants had obtained the free navigation of the Dutch seas, their rivalry with the Dutch almost bade fair to renew the animosities of two hundred years before. English vessels often touched at the islands and made treaties with the natives, who were always readier to trade with them than with the Dutch. The English, however, saw that it would be more advantageous to them to have one or two large free ports, where the natives could come and bring their goods; and by the treaty of 1824 the Indian disputes of the English and Dutch were definitely settled, on the principle that the English should keep the mainland, and the Dutch the islands. All the Dutch possessions on the continent, including their numerous settlements on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, and the port of Malacca, were ceded to England, and the English gave up to the Dutch all their settlements in the islands. England, besides this, obtained the island of Singapore, which, as the center of English commerce, has become one of the greatest marts of the Eastern seas. By this treaty the Dutch possessions were greatly concentrated; and they were soon extended on their new basis. The occupation of the vast island of Sumatra was begun in 1838 and in 1873 was undertaken the subjugation of the last independent native state, the Sultanate of Atjeh or Achin, in the northern corner of the island. The capital and the coast districts were soon subdued, but the chiefs of the interior kept up a fanatical resistance, rising in arms again and again after they were thought to be subdued, and encouraged from time to time by the temporizing policy of the Dutch. Their courageous but useless struggle is still in progress. In other parts of the archipelago less serious native resistance has been encountered. In addition to the usual causes of friction between civilized and barbarous people, the independent Malay states were nests of piracy, and their subjection to European control was inevitable and indispensable to the safety of commerce.

The Dutch East Indies have been chiefly famous for the so-called "culture system" long established there. This was in its essence the raising of crops of certain tropical goods by the forced labor of the natives. It was long believed that the Dutch had successfully solved the labor question for tropical colonies, that by directing with European sagacity the labor of the natives they were able to pay the native sultan a larger revenue than he could get for himself, to secure a higher degree of prosperity for the laborer and to make a very large return to the mother country. For the period 1840 to 1874 the average surplus thus paid to the Netherlands is calculated at about $13,000,000 a year, though its exact amount cannot be ascertained. This unearned tribute, for such it really was, induced extravagant expenditure in the Netherlands, with all its attendant economic ills, but in the Indies the evil effects of the culture system were more direct and far more serious. For the native laborer it was a system of corruption and oppression without check or limit. Its undeserved good repute is chiefly due to the book of an Englishman, J. W. B. Money, resident in Calcutta, who visited Java in 1858 on a trip for health and pleasure. In his association with European officials and planters and with the native nobility he picked up much rose-colored misinformation, which his ignorance of the Dutch and native languages, and consequent inability to make any thorough investigation of his subject, did not deter him from giving to the world in two volumes, published at London in 1861 under the title, "Java: or How to Manage a Colony." At the time the culture system was undergoing attack in the Netherlands, and its defenders seized on Money's book as a party weapon. The wide vogue thus given it, and the comparative ignorance of the Dutch language prevailing in other countries, have perpetuated its historical errors. Not until 1904 was there available in English a thorough and comprehensive account of the economic policy of the Dutch in the East Indies.[1]

We have seen how the Dutch East India Company exacted tribute from the native states in the form of "contingents" or "forced deliveries," being payments of certain goods in specified quantities either at a low price or without any compensation whatever, and how governor Daendels enforced this system in extending the culture of coffee. The energetic English governor, Thomas Stamford Raffles, seeing the abuses inherent in the prevailing system, attempted a radical reform, the substitution of a land tax for the contingents and forced deliveries to the European rulers as well as for all other dues and services paid by the people to the native rulers. This reform was never fully carried out, owing partly to the temporary character of the English rule and still more to the fact that the small number of European officials was unable to deal directly or intelligently with the native laborers, but were forced to rely upon the existing native political organization. The native governments represented Oriental despotism at its worst, and were at once weak, corrupt, and oppressive. The power of resistance had been crushed out of the people; money was scarce, and could be had only of the usurer at ruinous rates of interest. The social organization in some respects resembled that of mediæval Europe. Taxes were paid in goods and services, and the power of the native rulers to exact these was unlimited. Every demand made upon the native organization was passed on to the laborers, with an added burden of corruption and extortion for every official through whose hands it passed. Under such circumstances it was difficult to realize at once the sound ideals of Raffles, while it was fatally easy to revert to the methods of the company. Even during the English rule the old abuses persisted, and though the Dutch, when the islands were restored to them in 1816, at first accepted the principles which underlay Raffles' reforms, increased the number of European officials and tried to restrain the abuses inherent in the native organization, a period of reaction began in 1819. Before this it had been found impossible at first to deal with individual laborers in collecting the land tax, and as a temporary device the tax was collected from each village as a whole, and the amount assessed upon each village was fixed by bargaining, rather than upon any principles of justice or the ability to pay. The settlement of European planters and merchants was now discouraged or prohibited, the liberal tariff policy of the English rule was reversed, and new restrictions were imposed to favor Dutch commerce, and finally in 1824 the Dutch Trading Company was chartered for the trade with the Indies. It was to have no monopoly rights, no governmental powers, and was forbidden to enforce cultures upon the natives. Nevertheless it was significant of reaction in colonial policy. The king was the chief stockholder, and became a heavy loser by the unsuccessful operations of the company in its early years.

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[1] Clive Day, "The Policy and Administration of the Dutch in Java." New York, 1904. The editor is chiefly indebted to Dr. Day's book for the account of the culture system here given. The system is mildly criticised in P. Leroy-Beaulieu's "*De la colonisation chez les peuples modernes,*" 5th ed., Paris, 1902, vi., p. 280; and its abuses are frankly stated in A. Zimmermann's "*Die Kolonialpolitik der Niederländer,*" Berlin, 1903, p. 217.

In the third decade of the last century it seemed absolutely necessary that the Dutch Indies should pay their own way. The increase of colonial expenses had produced a deficit in the Indian budget for 1820 and the following years, which was greatly increased by the war with the native Sultan Dipa Negara, already mentioned, so that the Indian debt guaranteed by the mother-country increased rapidly. The Belgian provinces of the United Kingdom of Holland and Belgium were showing signs of the discontent, which was to result in their revolt and independence in 1830, and objected strenuously to paying for the colonial ventures of Holland, and finally the king, whose power over the colonies was substantially absolute, wished to recoup himself for his heavy losses by the new company. Accordingly Lieutenant General Van den Bosch was sent out as governor general to change the deficit into a surplus, and entered upon his office in Java in 1830. He established the culture system, which was a conscious reversion to the methods of the old East India Company. His plan was that instead of taxes the natives should give the government a certain proportion of their land and of their labor time. These were to be utilized by the growing of valuable export crops under government direction, instead of the comparatively valueless rice, which was the crop usually grown by the natives. The theory was that the wise supervision of the government would make more profitable use of the land and labor than could be made by the natives themselves. It was estimated that the natives would give one-fifth of their time under the new arrangement instead of two-fifths of their crop under the old taxation system, and Van den Bosch put forth his scheme under the guise of a philanthropic plan for their welfare. It was pretended that the cultures were to be free, that but one-fifth of the land was to be taken for them, and that adequate wages were to be paid the laborers. As a matter of fact the cultures were forced from the first. Soon one-third of the land was demanded, and in some districts all the land was actually taken, the demands on the labor time of the natives were without limit, the wages were a miserable pittance paid in debased currency, and in the event of failure the system of piece wages threw all the loss on the natives, though the failures were often due to the blunders of the government clerks, who required the cultures to be conducted in unsuitable places or at improper seasons. Food crops necessary to the subsistence of the people were often displaced by the forced cultures, and the laborer was often required to transport his product long distances to the government warehouses. Escape from these burdens was restrained by a passport system designed to chain the laborer to the soil. The culture system was not uniform, imposing heavy burdens in one locality and light ones in another, while a third might be entirely exempt. Further, it was accompanied by an increase in the forced services for public works and the gratification of the private wants of the officials. These, both European and native, were stimulated by premiums on the products to increase the output, and used their power for tyranny and extortion without mercy. The abject laborers had no means of escape save death by famine and pestilence or flight from the land. The government returned to the policy of monopoly, discouraging private planters who might compete with it, and granting to the Dutch Trading Company the exclusive right to export the products of the forced cultures. The system was extended to the northern part of the Celebes and the west coast of Sumatra, but it was most widely prevalent in Java, though even there it occupied but a small proportion of the cleared lands. The only cultures profitable to the government were coffee, sugar, and indigo; but tea, tobacco, cinnamon, cochineal, pepper, silk, and cotton were tried. The profit on coffee, amounting to four-fifths of the whole net revenue, was due to a change in the price of the article in Europe.

That a system so oppressive could endure so long was due to the reactionary conservatism prevailing in the Netherlands, and the absolutism of the government in the Indies. In the home country ministers of the Crown were not responsible to the legislature, and the king had exclusive control of the colonies. In the islands strict secrecy was preserved; the press was under rigid government regulations, and most of the Europeans were in the government service. Under these circumstances the public in the Netherlands remained in ignorance of colonial affairs. The general European revolution of 1848 was reflected in peaceful constitutional reforms in Holland, whereby ministers were made responsible to the legislature, the franchise was broadened, liberty of the press and of worship were guaranteed, and the government of the colonies was to be regulated by law. Liberals entered the second chamber and were enlightened as to the evil conditions in the Indies by one of their number, Baron van Hoevell, who had recently returned from a long residence in Java. In 1854 the chambers exercised their new powers by passing, with the king's assent, the "Regulations for the government of Netherlands India," which, with some amendments, are still in force.

They declare the objects of Dutch rule to be greater freedom of the press, abolition of slavery, education of the natives, encouragement of European planters, regulation of native services, etc., and propose the reform of the abuses of the culture system and its ultimate abolition.

Coincidently with the growth of liberalism at home, the worst abuses of the system began to be reformed in the Indies, and the reforms were accelerated by the colonial constitution of 1854, but in its main features the system was maintained and could be abolished only by the direct interference of the home government. The impulse to this was supplied by the novel "Max Havelaar; or the Coffee Auctions of the Dutch Trading Company," published in 1860 by Edouard Douwes Dekker, under the pseudonym of Multatuli. Dekker, as an "assistant resident" in the Indian service, had seen the abuses of the forced culture, and his indignant exposure of them shocked the humanity of the Dutch people and forced the reform of the system to the front as an issue in Dutch politics. In 1870 the reformers won the victory, passing the "agrarian law" to safeguard native rights and encourage European planters. Government cultures were still permitted, but were gradually abolished until only that of coffee remains, which now produces only one-third of the total coffee crop and seems destined to extinction. The European planters had great difficulty at first in securing laborers for their plantations, and had to apply to the native chiefs to induce their people to work—a survival of forced services in another form. They have also relied upon contracts for long terms of service, whereby an advance is paid to the laborer and he becomes irrevocably bound for the full term of service, which is limited by law to five years. These contracts are minutely regulated by law, and must be publicly recorded. The government seeks to protect the native in his dealings with Europeans and Chinese by asserting its absolute ownership of all the soil, save such portions as it has granted to individuals, prohibiting its sale and restricting all leases of cleared land to a short term. Uncleared land is leased to planters on emphyteutic leases for seventy-five years, subject to a quit-rent. At the end of the term the lessee has no right to a renewal or to compensation for his improvements. Along with the abolition of the forced cultures has gone the restriction and regulation of other forced services required in lieu of taxes, and otherwise, in the native organization. These have in some cases been abolished or commuted, and in others reduced in amount and freed from abuses.

The reform party which carried through the abolition of the forced cultures was inspired by ideals of justice toward the natives and liberality toward European private planters, but it was hardly ready to give up the large annual net surplus contributed by the Netherlands East Indies to the Netherlands budget. Nevertheless it was deemed necessary to enter on a long program of improvements, public works and subsidies to develop important industries. From 1913 to 1921 there were heavy deficits, especially increased because of heavier costs for public works, due to price advances caused everywhere by the World War period. After the changes in the Dutch government in 1922, it was hoped to make the budget of the Netherlands East Indies balance, and, though 1923 was the peak year for government debt, high prices for tin, rubber and other government controlled staples, in addition to retrenchments in other directions, caused a period of surpluses for 1924, 1925, 1926 and 1927. The 1928 and 1929 budgets were based on the idea of such prices continuing, but a deficit appeared likely for the close of 1928. The deficit would not, however, be due to ordinary government expenses, but to the extraordinary expenses for improvements and subsidies.

The Dutch system of governing the East Indies has been one of almost complete centralization, which became even stronger after cable service made it possible for the Minister of Colonies at home in the Netherlands to communicate directly with the Governor-General in the Indies, and in the Netherlands East Indies all officers, European and native, look to the Governor-General, who, with his council of five, owes appointment to the home government. There has existed throughout Java and Madura a Dutch and a native organization side by side, the former consisting of officers graded downward as residents, assistant residents and controleurs. Europeans have been under the law of the Netherlands, but certain differences in law exist which take into consideration the different customs of the natives and foreign Orientals, such adjustment being in the hands of the Governor-General and his Council.

The great political changes throughout the world have not been without effect in the Netherlands East Indies, and the Dutch have endeavored to allay the growing unrest by granting a measure of self-government. In 1917, a Volksraad was established, not as a legislative but as an advisory body, with powers of discussion in matters pertaining to the budget and some other internal affairs. When the Netherlands revised its own constitution in 1922, the Netherlands East Indies was declared to be an integral part of the nation rather than a colony. In 1925 a Netherlands East India constitution was promulgated and other reorganization of the government began, among other things, in increasing the powers of the Volksraad in internal matters. This body is partly elective and partly appointed and it includes native, Dutch and other members. The legislative powers of the Governor-General and his Council of Five, under the Dutch Minister of Colonies, remain. The Governor-General is the executive.

In treating of these possessions, Java and Madura are usually considered together, the other parts of the Dutch East Indies being sometimes referred to as the Outlands. These include Sumatra, the Riau-Lingga Archipelago, Bangha, Billiton, Borneo West District, Borneo South and East, Celebes, Molucca Islands, Timor Archipelago, Bali and Lombok. Java and Madura lead in population, the Island of Java being one of the most densely peopled regions in the world. According to the census of 1920, there were then 49,350,834 inhabitants in the Dutch East Indies, and the area of these islands was 733,642 miles. Reorganization since 1925 tends toward the forming of provinces, each with a local administration, by combining several residences. West Java is now thus organized from four of the former seventeen of Java and Madura. Another such province to be governed along these new lines in 1928 is the "Government of the Moluccoes."

In the fifteen years ending with 1928, great improvement has been made in educational facilities both for the resident Europeans and for the natives. There are primary and secondary schools in Dutch and in the vernacular. There are also technical schools and colleges in the larger centers.

Fine public buildings, roads, railroads, wire and wireless communications, are among the developments that mark the new progress. By the end of 1928 it is expected that airplane mail service will connect important cities with each other and with the mail steamers that reach the large ports of the East Indies.

Chapter XVII

MINOR EUROPEAN POSSESSIONS. 1800-1928

THE history of the Danish island of St. Thomas is quite unlike that of any other part of the West Indies. During the troubled times which succeeded the French Revolution the loss of most of the American colonies was generally the gain of St. Thomas. The island has one of the finest harbors in the West Indies, and the neutrality of Denmark made St. Thomas an important place in time of war. In 1755 the Danish Company was bought up by the government: and its trade had become so considerable that after the Definitive Treaty it was made a free port. During the wars of the French Revolution, St. Thomas continued to thrive faster and faster, but Denmark could now no longer maintain its neutrality, and the Danish West Indies came twice into possession of the English (1801-1802 and 1807-1815). St. Thomas flourished more and more during the wars between Spain and her colonies; and it even paid a large yearly tribute to the mother country long after the other West Indian colonies had been hanging like a dead weight upon Europe. Denmark, first among all nations, abolished the slave trade in 1792, and the abolition of slavery in 1848 was effected without disaster, but by the opening of all the other islands to general trade St. Thomas, of course, gradually lost much of its peculiar position in the West Indies. It was not exempt from the calamities which often befall those islands, and, after an extremely heavy visitation of pestilence, earthquake, and hurricane in 1867, the Danish Government, unable to obtain their tribute, and believing the island to be utterly ruined, offered it, together with the adjoining island of St. John, to the United States for $7,500,000. This bargain, however, was not then completed; a second treaty of sale to the United States, signed January 24, 1902, failed of ratification in the Danish Landsthing, and the islands, together with St. Croix, which was purchased from the French in 1733, remained in Denmark's possession until 1917, when they were sold to the United States for $25,000,000. Denmark formerly held as colonial possessions in the North Atlantic and Arctic, Iceland, Greenland and the Faroe Islands. The last named are treated now as part of Denmark. Iceland became a sovereign state on December 1, 1918. Greenland is still a Danish colony. The tiny Swedish island of St. Bartholomew, bought of the French in 1784, and at once made into a free port, rose and fell in much the same way as St. Thomas. With the establishment of free trade in the rest of the West Indies, St. Bart's ceased to be worth keeping. In 1868 the Swedish Parliament resolved to sell it. It was ceded to France in 1878 and is now a dependency of the French island of Guadeloupe.

Of the Portuguese possessions in Asia there remain only the ancient trading stations of Gôa, Damão, and Diu, on the Malabar coast of continental India; the island and town of Macao at the mouth of the Canton River in China, and the eastern part of the island of Timor in the Malay Archipelago, with the neighboring island of Pulo Cambing. Their total population is about 1,000,000, whereof one-half is in Gôa and more than one-third in the Malay Archipelago. Since August 15, 1914, Portuguese colonies have enjoyed a partial autonomy in law making and finance. The Portuguese African dependencies, all together of considerable area, are: the Cape Verde Islands, off the northwest coast; Portuguese Guinea, on the coast of Senegambia, cut off from the interior by the surrounding French territory; the islands of Principe and St. Thomé, in the Gulf of Guinea; Angola, on the Atlantic south of the Congo Free State, and Mozambique (Portuguese East Africa), on the coast of the Indian Ocean. Only the two last mentioned have extensive area and numerous population. After centuries of neglect Portugal made some feeble efforts in the last quarter of the nineteenth century to effectively occupy the interior and connect these two coast colonies by a broad dominion spanning the continent from east to west, but the hour of her fate had passed, and English energy seized, and holds, the vast regions watered by the upper courses of the Zambesi and Shiré. What is left to Portugal in southern Africa is yet a vast domain, in area more than 900,000 square miles, with a population of about 7,250,000. The smaller African possessions have together an area of about 16,000 square miles with a population somewhat less than 500,000, more than half of which is in Guinea. In Brazil the Portuguese have founded a new nation of their race and speech, but its independent development belongs to South American history. Its independence was one result of the wars of the French Revolution. Upon the invasion of Portugal by Napoleon the royal family fled across the Atlantic and set up the court in Brazil. After their power was restored in Portugal the Brazilians refused to again bow to the colonial yoke, but chose a prince of the royal house as their emperor. This independent American monarchy gave way to a republic in 1899. The islands of the Azores and Madeira are organized as integral parts of the Portuguese kingdom. They had in 1920 an area of 1,236 square miles and a population of 411,014.

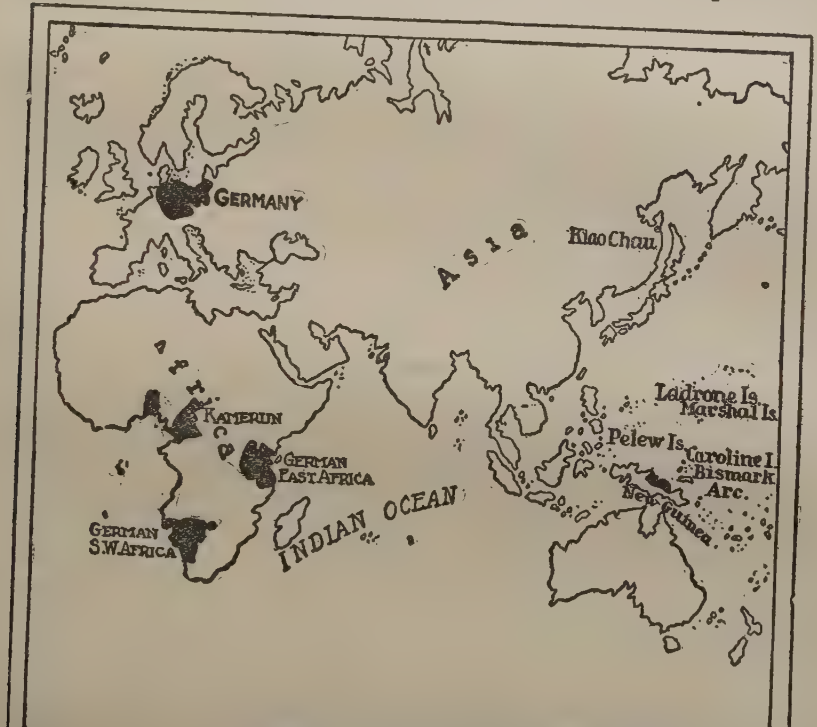
Continental America was lost to Spain in consequence of the Napoleonic wars, as we have seen, and when Spain failed to reconquer her revolted colonies the warning of the United States, expressed by President Monroe, supported by the interests and sympathy of England, prevented the Holy Alliance of European powers from intervening to reëstablish absolutism in the western hemisphere. The revolt of the Spanish-American states inaugurated their subsequent independent career in Mexico and South America. The war of the United States with Spain in 1898, ending in the cession of Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines, and Guam to the Americans, completed the ruin of the colonial empire of Spain, and created that of the United States, under which head we will give the history of these possessions in the nineteenth century. The treaty with Germany of February 8, 1899, ceded to that power all the remaining Spanish islands in the Pacific, and left, of the great colonial empire upon which the sun was truly said never to set, only a few insignificant possessions in Africa: Rio de Oro and Ardar, stretching 350 miles along the coast of the Sahara from Morocco to French Senegal; Rio Muni and Cape San Juan, 100 miles on the Guinea Coast, bounded by Cameroon on the north and by French Congo to east and south; the islands of Fernando Po, Annobon, Corisco, Great and Little Elobey and San Juan. Population of these is given as 184,341. Canary and Balearic Islands are treated as part of Spain. Spanish Morocco, with Ifni, has 8,665 square miles and some 620,000 people.

The Congo Free State (now Belgian Congo) is a colony of the Belgian nation, but from 1885 to 1908 it was in form a dependency of the Belgian king. It is a vast region (918,000 square miles), rich in natural resources, with a native population of 10,-

000,000. It owes its origin and powers to international agreements.

Germany and Italy were late comers in the field of colonial empire. Each attained national unity only in the third quarter of the last century, and seriously entered upon a policy of expansion about twenty years ago, moved alike by their new sense of national self-consciousness and national pride, to which the Germans added the substantial interests of missionary and commercial activity. In method they differed most widely. The rashness of the Italians on the Red Sea littoral brought them into conflict with Abyssinia, the strongest of all native African states, and their crushing defeat at Adowa on March 1, 1896, put an end to Italian expansion. The Germans proceeded with scientific thoroughness and diplomatic skill, and did not encounter any native organization capable of very serious resistance, though they have experienced the usual difficulties of native wars, like that in southwest Africa, which are, in fact, difficulties in finding the native enemy, rather than in defeating him when found. The Italian possessions on the Red Sea, organized as the colony of Eritrea, extend from the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb northwestward about 670 miles along the coast, embracing an area of 88,000 square miles, with a population of 450,000. From the straits southward and eastward the coast of the Gulf of Aden is occupied by French Somaliland and the British Somali Coast Protectorate. Thence eastward about 150 miles on the Gulf of Aden to Cape Guardafui, and southward for 1000 miles on the Indian Ocean to the boundary of British East Africa the coast region is occupied by Italian Somaliland, with an area of 100,000 square miles and a population of 400,000. This, like Eritrea, is bounded toward the interior by Abyssinia.

German Africa consisted of: Togoland, between the French colony of Dahomey and the British Gold Coast colony, narrowing to a frontage of 32 miles on the coast of the Gulf of Guinea, with an area of 33,000 square miles, and 900,000 inhabitants; Kamerun, a wedge-shaped territory between British Nigeria and French Congo, broadening toward the interior from its coastal frontage of 199 miles on the Bight of Biafra, and including a narrow northern extension to Lake Chad, with a total area of 191,000 square miles and a population of 350,000; German West Africa, occupying 930 miles of the Atlantic coast, exclusive of the British holding at Walfish Bay, from the Portuguese colony of Angola southward to the boundary of Cape Colony, at the Orange River, with an area of 322,000 square miles and 200,000 inhabitants; German East Africa, with a coast line of 620 miles on the Indian Ocean between Portuguese East Africa and British East Africa, extending inland westward to Lakes Nyassa and Tanganyika, and northwestward to Lake Victoria, having an area of 384,000 square miles and a population of 6,750,000. In addition the Germans had a foothold on the mainland of Asia and extensive possessions in the Pacific. The former was obtained by their seizure of the port and bay of Kiau-Chau on the east coast of the province of Shan-tung in November, 1897, upon the pretext of avenging outrages upon German missionaries. Germany had joined Russia and France in coercing Japan to forego the fruits of her victory over China in 1895, and this was doubtless her wages for that service, and the



GERMAN TERRITORY IN THE EASTERN HEMISPHERE

Chinese Government was easily forced to concede to Germany, in March, 1898, a lease of the district for ninety-nine years. Forthwith the territory was organized as a protectorate under a naval officer as governor. Its area was 200 square miles and its population 60,000, and it was surrounded on the landward side by a neutral zone of 2,500 square miles with 1,250,000 inhabitants. The Germans entered upon the development of their new possession with characteristic thoroughness, improving the harbor, securing concessions for railways and coal mines in the neighboring territories, and planning for the establishment of a self-governing European settlement; but the unexpected military and naval strength of Japan, and her victory over Russia, made it certain that further German expansion in China was not to be hoped for.

German activity in the Pacific goes back to the first year of colonial expansion. In 1884 the northeastern part of New Guinea (Kaiser Wilhelm's Land), with the neighboring Bismarck Archipelago, was annexed, and in 1885 the Marshall Islands. Upon the destruction of the Spanish empire in the Pacific by the cession of the Philippines and Guam to the United States, its remnants, the Caroline Islands, Pelew Islands, and Marianne or Ladrone Islands were purchased by Germany. All these acquisitions, with the Solomon Islands, near the Bismarck Archipelago, gave the Germans extensive and fairly continuous possessions in the western Pacific. The two largest islands of the distant Samoan group, where German commercial interests had long been of importance, were added in 1899-1900 by an agreement with the United States and Great Britain which terminated the tripartite control previously exercised in Samoa by the three powers. The total area of these possessions was about 96,000 square miles, with 427,000 inhabitants, of which Kaiser Wilhelm's Land and the Bismarck Archipelago together contributed 90,000 square miles and nearly 300,000 inhabitants. All lie within the tropics, and their government and development was a considerable charge upon the imperial treasury, with the promise of only moderate returns after many years of effort.

In a very brief period Germany, from having no colonies at all, rose to the third place among colonial powers, measured by the number of subjects in her dependencies. The first machinery for their government was the chartered commercial company, but this seventeenth century device soon gave way to direct imperial control, except in the Marshall Islands. This step was finally taken in New Guinea in 1899. Togoland and Cameroon were under direct imperial control from the first. Authority in each colony was centralized in the hands of the Governor, who was commander-in-chief and chief judge of the court of last resort, and was responsible to the colonial department of the imperial foreign office and through it and the Chancellor to the Emperor. A colonial council of experts summoned by the Chancellor advised him in colonial affairs. Commercially the colonies enjoyed the treatment accorded by the mother country to the most favored nation. Colonial tariffs were low and upon a revenue basis, and by international agreements some of the African possessions enjoyed full freedom of trade. Subsidized steamship lines kept up communication with Germany, but the volume of colonial trade had disappointed the hopes of the expansionists, in respect to both production and consumption. The native was not eager to work or to buy German goods, and German opinion was leaning toward the policy of compelling him to the former. In colonial administration Germany was distinguished by reliance upon scientific training and thorough knowledge, by maintenance of rigid discipline, the perpetuation of the social castes of the home land, and by the usual faults of bureaucracy. The German emigrant left the fatherland to escape this kind of government, and chose the United States or South America for settlement, rather than the colonies. In the first case, he was absorbed into Anglo-Saxondom, and in the last, the power of the United States, and its policy of excluding European interference in the Western Hemisphere, in accordance with the Monroe Doctrine, forbade the establishment of German sovereignty over German settlements. In either case the result was exasperating to the expansionists. The colonial civil service was fairly free from favoritism in appointment and promotion and was subject to rigid discipline. Academic qualifications were at first much overvalued, but in 1899 a special colonial school was founded at Witzenhausen, near Göttingen, for the practical training of experts in colonial government and exploitation.

The expansion of Russia eastward over northern Asia and the colonial activity of Japan in Formosa do not come within the scope of this volume. To complete the story of European colonization we must give an account of the United States as the ruler of dependencies, and must add the story of mandates and other aftermath of the World War, in which Germany lost her colonies.

Chapter XVIII

COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES OF THE UNITED STATES. 1867-1928

THE experience of the United States as a colonial power is as yet very brief, and the first century of national independence witnessed but one hesitant step in the new path, though circumstances were not wanting which seemed to open it, nor leaders willing to guide the nation therein. At the close of the Mexican War the annexation of all Mexico, with its large population of alien blood and inferior civilization was advocated by some members of President Polk's Cabinet, but this policy was rejected by the President, who contented himself with the extension of the territory westward to the Pacific. The new acquisition was indeed vast in area, but its position and scant population seemed to insure its occupation by our American citizens and its incorporation in the Union on an equal footing with the existing States, a destiny in part unfulfilled for half a century, but reasonably certain of ultimate accomplishment. The treaty of cession (1848) accordingly promised such incorporation of the Mexican inhabitants of the ceded territory, following the precedent of the third article of the treaty with France ceding to the United States the vast Louisiana territory, which was in these words: "The inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States; and in the meantime they shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion which they profess." [1]

The same intent to organize newly acquired territory as States with full and equal powers, was expressed in the Spanish treaty ceding Florida in 1819, in all stages of the proceedings for ceding to the United States the territory northwest of the Ohio River, especially in the ordinance of 1787, and in the uniform practice of the government in dealing with the Territories down to the close of the Civil War, unless the Indian Territory be excepted. It is true that the United States has had dependencies from the first, and has expanded enormously by the acquisition of new territory, but this dependence was intended to be temporary, and the new territory was contiguous and lay open to the settlement of its own people under the familiar conditions of complete self-government in local affairs and an equal share in the government of the nation. These conditions, especially the last, were the ground of the opposition by the anti-expansionists of 1803 to the purchase of Louisiana. They were unwilling to be governed by senators and representatives from beyond the Mississippi. The wonderful success of the American people in occupying these vacant lands and erecting new commonwealths therein makes up a great part of the national history. Here, however, we are concerned with the acquisition and government of territory which, by reason of climate, or distance, or the existence of a large native population of alien blood and inferior civilization, is unsuited to the methods employed in expanding from the Alleghanies to the Pacific. The ethnical difficulty was encountered in dealing with the Indians, but was postponed for a century by their forcible removal and segregation on reservations or in the Indian Territory. Even for them incorporation or extermination seem now to be the only alternatives.

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[1] "United States Treaties and Conventions," 1889, p. 332.

The first dependency, in the sense above indicated, acquired by the United States was Alaska. The Russian possessions on the northwest coast dated from the discoveries of Bering in 1741, followed by occupancy, and their claims had at one time been extended as far south as San Francisco Bay. The region was remote from Russia, of little value in her hands, and not capable of defense against an enemy powerful at sea. In the Crimean War Russian and British North America had been neutralized by agreement, but the growing power of Canada, whose union was forming while the Alaskan treaty was under negotiation, was a menace for the future and cession to the United States an easy and profitable way out of the threatened danger. The time also was propitious, the charter of the Russian American Company having expired in 1861, as was the temper and policy of the man to whom the foreign affairs of the United States were committed. William H. Seward, Secretary of State under Presidents Lincoln and Johnson, was by temperament and conviction an ardent expansionist, and enthusiastically anticipated the time when all the North American continent and even more remote regions would belong to the United States. The purchase of Russian America had been discussed in 1859 and an offer of $5,000,000 made for the territory. The friendly relations of the two nations during the Civil War and pending negotiations as to fishing rights and the fur trade led to a renewal of the project in 1867. Negotiations for the purchase were begun at Washington in March of that year, the treaty was signed on the 30th, and ratifications exchanged June 20. The price was $7,200,000 in gold, the area of the ceded territory 590,000 square miles, and the population probably about 30,000, for the most part Esquimaux and Indians. The Senate and the country were taken by surprise when the treaty was negotiated, and the new acquisition was received with not a little ridicule, which might have been fatal to the project, but for the general desire to please Russia. The third article of the treaty secured to the inhabitants, except the uncivilized native tribes, admission to the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens of the United States and the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion, but nothing was said of incorporation in the Union. Seward's expansion policy does not seem to have included any well-considered scheme for the government of distant dependencies, but the usual territorial organization was ill-suited to this vast region, distant 500 miles by sea, with a white population of insignificant numbers. Congress, therefore, in 1868, merely extended the revenue laws to Alaska, regulated the fur trade and the fisheries, and gave to the federal district courts of California and Oregon and the territorial district courts of Washington jurisdiction of cases arising there. The Act of May 17, 1884, established the "civil and judicial district of Alaska," under a governor appointed by the President and exercising executive power, with a district court for judicial business. Congress retained the legislative power in its own hands and extended to the district the existing general laws of Oregon so far as they were locally applicable. This form of government was substantially preserved by the Act of June 6, 1900, which also provided a civil code and a code of civil procedure. A penal code was enacted by Congress March 3, 1899.

For many years the only considerable industries of Alaska were the fisheries and the fur trade. To prevent the threatened extinction of the fur seal the United States claimed exclusive jurisdiction over the waters of Bering Sea, and seized several British vessels engaged in sealing there. The resulting controversy was settled by arbitration, in 1893, adversely to the claims of the United States, and the methods of seal killing were regulated by agreement, in order to preserve the seals. At the time of its purchase the population of the new territory was small, and the census of 1880 showed a total of 33,426, of whom only 430 were whites. In 1890 the total figures were 36,350, and in 1900 the total had increased to 63,592. By the census of 1910 the total permanent population had increased to 64,356. Gold was first discovered in quantity in 1880 upon a tributary of the Yukon (Forty Mile Creek) near the Canadian border. In 1896 diggings of great richness were opened in Canadian territory on another tributary, the Klondike. A great inrush of gold-seekers followed. The only available approach to these Canadian gold fields was by sea to the head of Lynn Canal; thence overland through Alaskan territory. The Canadians now set up a claim that the international boundary ought to be so drawn as to cross the Lynn Canal, and give Canada a port on tidewater. The justice of this claim depended upon the construction of the language of the Anglo-Russian treaty of 1825, which provided that the line should follow the summit of the mountains parallel to the coast from 56° north latitude northward; but wherever the summit was more than ten marine leagues from the ocean the boundary should be parallel to the windings of the coast and should never exceed ten marine leagues therefrom. The territory in controversy was actually in the possession of the United States. In 1898 a joint high commission was formed to adjust all differences between Canada and the United States, but no compromise of the question was effected; the commission adjourning in 1899. A *modus vivendi,* leaving the essential portion of the territory in dispute in the hands of the United States, was agreed upon October 20, 1899; a treaty being signed January 24, 1903, providing for the settlement by a commission of six jurists, three appointed by each party, the decision favored the United States.

On January 18, 1910, bills were introduced in the Senate, embodying the President's Alaskan recommendations.

The second outlying dependency acquired by the United States was also in the Pacific. The Sandwich or Hawaiian group, lying half way between North America and Asia, has since Cook's time been more familiar than any other to European sailors, and

French settlers were among the first to take up their abode in a climate which proved peculiarly inviting to Europeans. For three or more generations, Europeans and Americans have been settling in the Sandwich Islands; and by the operation of what seems an unfailing natural law the native race has been all this time quickly diminishing. Long since it was obvious that the Sandwich Islands must at no very distant time become a purely European colony, and French politicians lost no opportunity of attempting to secure the upper hand. Their chief obstacle lay in the influence of the American Protestant missionaries, who began their labors in the islands in 1820. The leanings of the reigning family of the Kamehamehas were rather American than French; and the first constitution, promulgated in 1840, was revised in 1852, on the most liberal scale, granting free suffrage and dividing the legislature into two houses. This gave a decided preponderance to American principles and interests. In 1842, Daniel Webster, then Secretary of State, officially recognized the independence of the Hawaiian kingdom and declared "as the sense of the Government of the United States that the Government of the Sandwich Islands ought to be respected; that no power ought to take possession of the islands either as a conquest or for the purpose of colonization; and that no power ought to seek for any undue control over the existing government, or any exclusive privileges or preferences in matters of commerce."[2]

This declaration was needed to protect the islands from seizure by European powers. American commercial and missionary interests were preponderant there and would suffer if exclusive privileges were given to any other power. The policy thus declared was affirmed in President Tyler's message to Congress of December 30, 1842. Nevertheless the provisional cession of the islands to Great Britain was forced in the following February, whereupon the American minister to England was instructed that the United States might feel justified in interfering by force to prevent their falling by conquest into the hands of a European power. On July 31 the British admiral withdrew his forces, and in the same year France and England recognized the native government and agreed never to take possession of the country directly or indirectly. To the colonial ambitions of France the islands remained nevertheless a tempting prize. As early as 1839 a French naval force had by threats of war interfered in behalf of Roman Catholic missionaries, and in 1850 and the following years French intrigues in the islands called forth vigorous diplomatic remonstrance from the United States, Secretary of State Marcy going so far as to indicate, as the ultimate destiny of the country, annexation to the United States, which by the settlement of the Oregon boundary in 1846 and the cession of California in 1848, had acquired new commercial and military interests in the Pacific.

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[2] Wharton, "Digest of International Law of the United States," 2 ed., vol. i., 417.

Soon after the establishment of the second empire in France, the princes of the Sandwich Islands visited Europe. They felt highly complimented by the attentions of so important a monarch as Napoleon III., and permitted him to dispatch some French politicians to take the command of their affairs at home. These men were in constant communication with the subtle emperor; and, incredible as it may seem, there is no doubt that he planned a *coup d'état* in the Sandwich Islands with the same views as the more famous and disastrous one of Mexico. No sooner were the States of America involved in the Civil War than the French politicians, taking advantage of the opportune death of King Kamehameha IV., induced his successor to forcibly abolish the old liberal constitution in 1864 and promulgated a new one on a far narrower basis, disfranchising all the floating population and Chinese. Trivial though this stroke of policy may seem to Europeans, it was disastrous in its effects on the Sandwich Islands. The people soon began to clamor for the constitution of 1852, and on the death in 1872 of the last of the Kamehamehas, a kinsman of that family was elected on the understanding that the constitution should be restored. One of the first measures of King Lunalilo's short reign was to establish friendly relations with the United States, and to invite the Americans to construct a dockyard and fix here a permanent naval station, so that the "Latin protectorate" was at an end as regards the Sandwich Islands.

Lunalilo died February 3, 1874, and Kalakaua was elected to the throne by the legislature. He soon visited the United States, and in 1875 a treaty of reciprocity between the two countries was framed, the chief feature of which was the free admission of Hawaiian sugar to the American market. The treaty was in furtherance of American traditional policy toward the islands, and, notwithstanding the opposition of protected interests in the United

States, was duly ratified and in 1887 was renewed and enlarged. In the last named year the progressive party secured from the king the grant of a new constitution, depriving the Crown of legislative power, making members of the house of nobles elective and the ministry responsible to the legislature. Kalakaua's sister Liliuokalani succeeded to the throne upon his death in 1891. She adopted a reactionary policy and in January, 1893, contemplated the promulgation of a new constitution, disfranchising foreigners and restoring the royal power. The American element thereupon dethroned the queen by a bloodless revolution, an American naval force having been landed in Honolulu, organized a provisional government, which was immediately recognized by the American minister, and applied for annexation to the United States, whose minister proclaimed a protectorate over the islands on February 9. A treaty of annexation was sent to the Senate by President Harrison, but was withdrawn by President Cleveland soon after his inauguration in March. A special commissioner was sent to the islands to investigate the circumstances of the revolution and the participation of the American forces therein, and upon his report that its success was wholly due to the landing of American troops the President refused to again submit the treaty, and opened negotiations with Liliuokalani for the restoration of the status existing before the revolution on condition of complete amnesty for those participating in it. To this neither the queen nor the provisional government would consent. The American protectorate was withdrawn and the Hawaiian republic maintained itself for four years as an independent nation, but upon the return of the Republican party to power in the United States a new treaty of annexation was negotiated and submitted to the Senate June 16, 1897. It met with determined opposition, and its ratification by the Senate could not be obtained. The outbreak of the Spanish-American War in April, 1898, came opportunely to the aid of the annexationists. Hawaii offered the use of the harbor of Honolulu to the American naval and military forces, and replied to the remonstrance of Spain by declaring that the island republic had no intention of remaining neutral. The precedent set in the case of Texas was now followed by the passage of a joint resolution of Congress in July, annexing the islands to the United States. In 1900 a government was established of the regular Territorial type, with a governor, who must be a citizen of the islands, and judges of the Territorial courts appointed by the president, a legislature of two houses elected by voters qualified by ability to speak, write, and read the English or Hawaiian language, and a Hawaiian delegate in Congress. The customs laws of the United States were also extended to the islands. These institutions are adapted to the ultimate incorporation of Hawaii into the Union as a State, but the mixed character of the population makes the wisdom of such a step questionable. By the census of 1900, out of a total of 154,001 the native Hawaiians were 29,834, part Hawaiians 7,835, Chinese 25,742, Japanese 58,500. By the census of 1910 the total population was 191,909. There is an excellent system of schools and ninety-eight per cent. of the children are instructed in the English language. The main industry is sugar-making for the American market. Since the appointment on June 25, 1907, of Chief Justice W. F. Frear as governor of Hawaii, the administration of affairs has been attended by nothing of importance. On February 16, 1909, arrangements were completed for the establishment of a large military station in Hawaii. This is second only to the one in the Philippines. Pearl Harbor was finally selected as the most desirable location for this station, on November 11, 1909.

Within a year the United States acquired direct sovereignty or temporary control over extensive tropical regions with a population of about 10,000,000. Though the war with Spain was caused by questions concerning Cuba, its most notable results were in the old Spanish East Indies, consisting of the Philippine Islands. We have seen how these islands were discovered by the Portuguese Magalhaes, while in the Spanish service. They were conquered by Legazpi for Spain in 1565 and the years immediately following. Within forty years the natives, except the Mohammedans of the southern islands and the wild tribes of the remote interior, were Christianized and civilized. This success was due in part to the lack of any strong social or religious bond among them and the combination of daring and conciliation by which the Spaniards turned the native weakness to their own purposes. These purposes were chiefly religious, and the methods used were not unlike those employed in the missions of California and Paraguay. The natives were gathered into villages (*pueblos*) under the guidance and control of the friars, who permitted no intrusion by Europeans or intercouse with them. Each family paid a tribute of eight reals, about one dollar, and in addition the natives were subject to a certain amount of forced labor on public works, but the clergy resolutely and effectively stood between them and the Spanish rulers, securing their general humane treatment, supervising agriculture and administering works of education and charity. Their rule in the pueblos was mild but despotic. For the most part they were "regular" clergy, *i. e.*, friars belonging to some one of the great orders, and were bitterly jealous of the "seculars." The chief ecclesiastical authority in the islands was the archbishop, whose court had jurisdiction of cases arising under the canon law. A commissioner of the Holy Inquisition also resided in the islands for the maintenance of the true faith. Other high ecclesiastical officers were three bishops and the heads of the great orders of friars, Augustinians, Franciscans, Jesuits, Dominicans, and Recollets. Their power and influence over the civil organization was very great. The latter was modeled upon the Spanish colonial governments in America, having at its head the governor general, whose autocratic powers were but slightly limited by his obligation to seek the advice of the supreme court (*audiencia*) in matters of great importance and by the fear of an official inquiry (*residencia*) into his conduct by his successor. Under him were the provincial governors (*alcaldes mayores*) and under them the petty governors (*gobernadocillos*) of the pueblos. These were natives chosen by their countrymen. Each pueblo was divided into groups of forty or fifty families called *barangays.* They were survivals of the native clans, and were each under a head man. The few Spanish towns were organized as municipalities. Manila in 1603 was a fortified town with churches and public buildings of stone, a college, hospitals, and other charitable institutions.

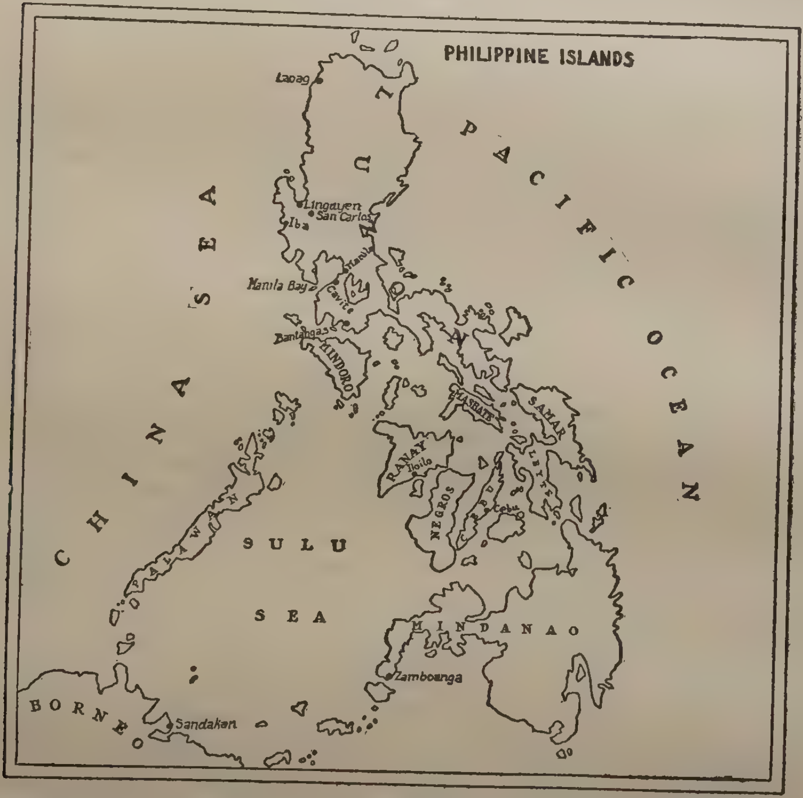
Something has been said of the trade of the Philippines with the Mexican port of Acapulco. At first commerce was unrestricted, but Spain feared the competition of Chinese silks in her American colonies and adopted protective measures, forbidding in 1587 the shipment of Chinese cloths from Mexico to Peru, and in 1591 all direct trade between South America and China or the Philippines. In 1593 trade with Mexico was limited to two ships of 300 tons annually, exports to be not over $250,000, and imports not over $500,000 ($500,000 and $1,000,000 respectively after 1734), and the trade with China was restricted to Chinese merchants. Chinese goods imported into Mexico must be consumed there. Direct trade with Spain by a public vessel was begun in 1766. These restrictions effectually prevented the commercial development and fiscal independence of the islands. Up to 1784 the deficit in their accounts was made up out of the budget of Mexico.

It was inevitable that this system of social and commercial isolation should cease. In the Seven Years' War the English took Manila, but restored it at the peace. In 1785 the monopoly of the trade with Spain was granted to the Royal Philippines Company, and after that time the islands gradually became known to the world. In 1809, during the alliance with England against Napoleon, an English commercial house was even allowed to establish itself at Manila; and in 1814 the same liberty was allowed to all foreigners, so that a new era for the islands may be said to have commenced with the present century. The year 1830, which witnessed the cessation of the company's charter, was an important epoch in their history. In 1855 four new ports were opened, and in 1869 a reduction in the tariff caused a considerable increase of trade. The change from the missionary to the mercantile spirit undermined the authority and influence of the friars and excited discontent among the natives. In 1780 the government established the system of enforcing the culture of tobacco, indigo, and silk, which it bought at an arbitrary and nominal price and sold in Europe at a profit, thus getting a considerable part of its revenue. Like the culture system of the Dutch in Java, this produced misery among the natives, corrupted the officials, discouraged private enterprise, and debased the quality of the product.

The last of the forced cultures, tobacco, was abolished in 1882. To the discontent arising from economic causes there was added the desire for wider political privileges. The Spanish Constitution of 1812 had granted to the Filipinos representation in the Spanish Cortes, and the restoration of absolutism in Spain in 1814 was the signal for a revolt in the islands. The opening of the Suez Canal brought with it closer commercial connections with Europe, and young men from the islands sought education at the European universities, chief among them being the distinguished author and physician, José Rizal. Thus the reform movement found stimulus and leadership, but it yet lacked organization. Masonic lodges, first instituted in 1860, became centers of anticlericalism and the Philippine League was created to seek political reforms by legitimate means.

After the Revolution of 1868 the Spanish people seemed at length to be awakening to the necessity of doing something to preserve their colonies. The republican minister, Moret, in 1870 formed a scheme for teaching Philippine officials the native language, as well as something of the Indian and colonial policy pursued by England and Holland. But the abuses of which the natives complained were not reformed, and for discontent the obsolete Spanish system had no remedy save repression. In 1872 a conspiracy of the native troops was discovered, and on suspicion of implication therein many Filipinos of influential families were punished by execution or banishment. The malcontents then organized a secret society, the *Katipunan* or League, which plotted revolution and aimed to expel the friars from the islands and confiscate their lands. The Spaniards got news of the plot against them. In 1892 they banished Rizal and in 1895 and 1896 hundreds of other natives shared his exile. Nevertheless the natives rose on August 19, 1896, under the leadership of Andrés Bonifacio and Emilio Aguinaldo, and committed fearful atrocities upon the friars who fell into their hands, for which the Spaniards retaliated with barbarous ferocity, one instance of which was the execution of Rizal, who had been under close surveillance in the island of Mindanao and had had no opportunity to communicate with the insurgents. The rebels had taken the Spaniards by surprise, but were in great need of arms, and in 1897 their organized resistance had been broken, leaving to Spain the wearing task of hunting down their guerrilla bands. Governor general Primo de Rivera came to terms with their leaders by the so-called Treaty of Biacnabate, December 14, 1897, the exact terms of which are unknown. Aguinaldo and other leaders were to receive a large sum of money and to leave the country, while the natives asserted and the Spaniards denied that reforms were also promised. Aguinaldo and his associates went to Singapore and Hong Kong. Of the sum promised them they received only $400,000, which was afterward used to carry on the insurrection. No reforms were carried out, and the persecution of the native leaders continued, as did the guerrilla warfare.

Meanwhile Cuban affairs were approaching a crisis, and in 1897 a representative of the "Philippine Republic," believing war between the United States and Spain to be imminent, approached Wildman, the American minister at Hong Kong, with the offer of an offensive and defensive alliance, and a request for arms and ammunition. The offer was declined, but on the actual outbreak of war on April 21, 1898, Aguinaldo had a conference at Singapore on April 24 with Pratt, United States consul at that port, and was by him sent to Hong Kong to arrange with Commodore Dewey, the American naval commander, for coöperation in the Philippines. On May 1, Dewey entered Manila Bay, destroyed the Spanish fleet without losing a man, and had the city of Manila at the mercy of his guns. On the following day Aguinaldo reached Hong Kong, and on the 16th was sent to Manila on the U. S. S. *McCulloch* with Dewey's consent. On his arrival he took command of the insurgents, was permitted by Dewey to arm them from the captured Spanish arsenal at Cavité, got control of the



province of Cavité, and invested the city of Manila. Not until July was there a sufficient force of American troops to attempt offensive operations on land. On August 13 the city was captured by the forces of the United States and the Filipino army was excluded from it. A peace protocol had already been signed (August 12), providing among other things that the United States should hold the city, bay, and harbor of Manila pending negotiations for a treaty of peace. For more than four months more the armies of the United States and of the insurgents maintained the same relative positions, each suspicious of the other. In June, Aguinaldo had organized a government and issued a provisional constitution claiming full independence. In the peace negotiations at Paris the United States demanded the cession of the Philippines, offering $20,000,000 in compensation, and a treaty to that effect was signed on December 10, but met with great opposition in America by the so-called "anti-imperialists," many of whom were men of great influence in political life and in unofficial public leadership. They believed that the cession could be made effective only by conquest, that the purchase of unwilling subjects violated the principles of the Declaration of Independence, that a democratic republic cannot govern distant dependencies with safety to itself or justice to its foreign subjects, and that all the practical difficulties of the situation would be met by a native government under American protection. The supporters of the administration in reply argued that American sovereignty was necessary to save the islands from anarchy or from seizure by some European power, and was justifiable to secure for the United States the commercial and strategic advantages which would result from their occupation. On December 21, 1898, General Otis was instructed to proclaim American sovereignty over the Philippines, and the extension of the military government over the whole archipelago. He issued the proclamation January 4, 1899, modifying its terms to conciliate the natives. Aguinaldo replied by a counter-proclamation, asserting independence, and soon began preparations for hostilities. In the same month the President appointed five commissioners, headed by Jacob G. Schurman, president of Cornell University, and including the commanders of the military and naval forces, to inquire into conditions in the islands and conciliate the natives.

On the night of February 4 a collision of outposts led to a general attack by the natives on the American lines, which was repulsed with great slaughter, and on February 6 the treaty of cession was ratified by the United States Senate. For the war thus begun the United States was inadequately prepared, a large part of their troops being entitled to discharge, so that a new force must be enlisted and transported from America to take their places. In the meantime, Iloilo, Cebu, and other points in the Visayan Islands, between Luzon and Mindanao, together with Jolo in the Sulu Archipelago southwest of Mindanao, had been occupied, and the American lines about Manila and Cavité extended. In October the new army began its forward movement against the natives, whose military strength and political organization was centered in the great plain of central Luzon, between Manila Bay on the south and the Gulf of Lingayen on the north. The Americans were everywhere successful, and before the close of November the remnants of the Filipino army and government officers were driven into hiding in the mountains. In December and January their organized forces in Cavité and the adjacent provinces south of Manila met a like fate. By the end of March garrisons were established in the great island of Mindanao, and the organized native forces in the Visayan Islands scattered. All open resistance was at an end, but a harassing guerrilla warfare, accompanied by the torture and murder of friendly natives, dragged on for two years more. Aguinaldo was finally captured on March 23, 1901, by a native force under General Funston in the guise of a body of rebel troops. On April 2 he took the oath of allegiance to the United States, and on the 19th issued an address to his countrymen counseling submission. The last guerrilla leaders surrendered in April, 1902, and on July 4, 1902, President Roosevelt issued a proclamation granting amnesty to the insurgents, except the Moros of the southern islands, on condition of their taking an oath of allegiance. The United States had first and last sent 123,903 men to the Philippines. By October 15, 1903, the American troops had been reduced in number to 15,510, besides a force of native scouts under American officers numbering 4805, and peace and security were established throughout the archipelago except for local disturbances among the wild Moro tribes of the south. These Mohammedan tribes had been left a large degree of independence during the Spanish régime under their native sultans, of whom the Sultan of Jolo or Sulu was the most important. The sultan's rule was nominally despotic, but in fact the actual power was in the hands of the dattos, or local chiefs. The Spanish garrison at Jolo was replaced by American troops May 19, 1899, and General Bates negotiated a treaty with the sultan, who recognized American sovereignty and agreed to suppress piracy in return for a promise of protection, certain monthly payments in money, and a promise that the Sulu Archipelago should never be transferred to any other power without his consent. By a special clause the United States withheld its approval from the existence of slavery in the islands. In 1902 and 1903 Moro attacks upon American troops engaged in exploration occasioned hostilities on a small scale in the interior of Mindanao, where the Spanish authority had never penetrated. In dealing with all these Mohammedan tribes and with the still more savage heathen tribes of the interior the United States attempted to supervise and control tribal governments rather than individuals, after the precedent set by dealings with the Indians in America. Experience proved that the Sultan of Jolo was unable to restrain the dattos, or to carry out his agreement, and a new method of government for the Sulu Moros was established by the Philippine Commission (June 1, 1903), with the approval of the military commander, designed to control the dattos without the intervention of the sultan, and to deal directly with the practice of slavery. General Leonard Wood was selected for military commander and civil governor of Sulu under this statute, and his inauguration of the new government met with resistance from some of the dattos, which was sharply put down.

The establishment of civil government in the Christian islands kept pace with the extension of the American military lines. The first Philippine Commission reported on January 31, 1900, in favor of a Territorial government, the largest possible employment of Filipinos in the civil service, and the rigid maintenance of the merit system of appointment and promotion. In March a system of municipal government was created by military order, resting upon the suffrage of former village and municipal officeholders, taxpayers, and persons who could speak, read, and write English or Spanish.

On April 7 the President appointed a second Philippine commission of five civilians under the presidency of William H. Taft, with legislative power for the islands beginning September 1, 1900. They were to establish a judicial system, provincial and local governments, promote education, organize a civil service on the lines laid down by the first commission, and report when the central administration could safely be transferred from military to civil control. The provisions of the American Bill of Rights except as to carrying arms and jury trial, were to be enforced. On March 1, 1901, the "Spooner Amendment" to the Army Appropriation Bill empowered the President to provide for the government of the Philippines at his discretion. On July 4, 1901, Commissioner Taft was inaugurated as civil governor of the Philippines with executive power over the pacified districts, and on September 1, four executive departments, one under each of the other commissioners, were organized and three Filipinos added to the commission. On July 4, 1902, civil government displaced the military power throughout the archipelago except among the Moros. On July 1, 1902, Congress passed the Philippines Civil Government Act, confirming all that had been done by the President and the commission, providing for the taking of a census, and the creation, within two years thereafter, of an assembly elected by the people, except the Moros and other non-Christian tribes, to constitute with the commission a legislature for the islands, whose acts are subject to annulment by Congress. Voters are to be qualified as above stated for municipal elections. Two resident commissioners to the United States are to be chosen biennially by the legislature, each house voting separately, and shall be entitled to official recognition as such by all departments. The established judicial organization, consisting of a supreme court and courts of first instance, is confirmed, and the provisions of the Bill of Rights, with the exceptions above noted, are guaranteed. The civil governor, vice-governor, members of the Philippine Commission, heads of executive departments, and justices of the supreme court are to be appointed by the President by and with the consent of the Senate. The insular government is empowered to purchase the lands of the friars and hold them or lease or sell them to the occupants. This transaction has been effected, and with the substitution of secular clergy in the place of the friars will remove the greatest source of discontent among the people.

The census of March 2, 1903, showed a population of 7,635,426, of whom 6,987,686 were civilized. There are about 25,000 Europeans and 100,000 Chinese in the islands. The uncivilized tribes include the Mohammedan Moros and the heathen peoples of the mountains, who are in different stages of barbarism. Of the eight civilized tribes the most numerous is the Visayan. The islands lie wholly within the tropics, extending for 1000 miles from Formosa southward to Borneo and the Moluccas, and are 1725 in number, the largest being Luzon (47,238 square miles) and Mindanao (36,237 square miles), which are about equal in size to the States of New York and Indiana respectively. The total land area is estimated at 115,026 square miles, which is only slightly less than New England, New York, and New Jersey taken together. Of the total of 76,616,640 acres, about 12,000,000 are private and 61,000,000 public property; 40,000,000 acres of the latter are forest lands and the remainder arable, though much of the forest lands, if cleared, could be cultivated. The homestead laws permit any citizen to acquire 39.54 acres by occupancy and improvement for five years. The soil is rich in nearly all parts of the archipelago. The chief products are abaca, from which Manila hemp is made, sugar, coffee, tobacco, copra, cacao, and rice. Foreign commerce had increased threefold since 1894, and eighty-two per cent. since 1898. The total amount of imports and exports in 1902 was about $62,000,000, of which about one-fourth represents the trade with the United States. The mineral resources are considerable; gold and iron are actually mined in Luzon, and coal and lead in Cebu.

The natural wealth of the islands needs only labor for its development, and competent observers believe that with good management it can be supplied in fair quantity and quality by the Filipinos. As a people they are intelligent and aspiring, and owing to the devotion of the friars they share to some extent the Christian and social ideals of Europe and America, a fact which raises them above any other tropical people. They are eager for education, and a comprehensive common school system has been established under American supervision. Under Governor Taft and his successor, Governor Wright, the government has been administered wholly in the interest of the natives and to a large extent by native officers, all the *presidentes* of the towns and thirty out of the thirty-nine provincial governors being Filipinos; useful public works have been undertaken, many railway routes located, telegraphic communication with the United States opened by the Pacific cable, the vexatious question of the friar lands settled, and the cost of administration kept well within the revenue. Newcomers in the field of colonial administration have no reason to be ashamed of such a record.[3]

The other possessions of the United States in the Pacific may be dismissed with brief mention. The island of Guam or Guahan, the largest in the Marianne or Ladrone group, and lying about 1500 miles east of Luzon, was seized by Captain Glass of the U. S. S. *Charleston* on June 20, 1898, and ceded by the treaty of peace between Spain and the United States. It is about 200 square miles in area, and has a population of 9000, chiefly Filipinos. It will be valuable as a coaling station and serves as a landing station for the cable from San Francisco and Honolulu to the Philippines. Certain outlying islands north and south of the Philippines which had been inadvertently omitted from the cession in the treaty of peace were ceded by a new treaty in 1900 for the sum of $100,000.

The beginnings of American influence in the Samoan Islands, in the South Pacific, 2600 miles south and west from Honolulu and 1900 miles north and east from Auckland in New Zealand, were made in 1872, when the harbor of Pago Pago was ceded by the natives for a naval and coaling station. In 1878 this cession was confirmed and rights of extra-territorial jurisdiction acquired. German commercial interests existed in the islands and wars between rival kings led to joint intervention in 1879 by the United States, Germany, and Great Britain. In 1889 the three powers entered into a treaty guaranteeing the neutrality of the islands and equal rights therein, providing for the independence of the native government, creating a supreme court, etc. Renewed strife among the natives induced President Cleveland to advise in 1894 that the United States withdraw from the tripartite agreement. In 1899 the death of the king and a disputed election to the throne brought matters to a crisis, and in January, 1900, the United States entered into an agreement with Germany and Great Britain, whereby the latter withdrew and the archipelago was divided between Germany and the United States, the former taking the islands west of 171° west longitude, and the latter those east of it, including Tutuila, with the harbor of Pago Pago. Tutuila has an area of about 54 square miles and a population (1912) of 7251. The other islands belonging to the United States are about 25 square miles in area, with a population of 2000. On April 17, 1900, the chiefs of the islands signed an instrument of cession and the United States took possession of Pago Pago. A naval governor for Tutuila was appointed in February, 1900.

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[3] For an unfavorable criticism of American administration in the Philippines see two articles under this title in the *Outlook* (N. Y.), Vol. LXXVIII., pp. 1026 and 1082 (Dec. 24 and 31, 1904), by Alleyne Ireland. Mr. Ireland thinks that there is no hope of the natives developing political capacity sufficient to make good use of the self-government which is offered to them; that native labor is untrustworthy, and the importation of Chinese labor essential to the prosperity of the islands; that the administration is too expensive, the effort spent on education for the most part misdirected and disproportionately large as compared with the development of profitable public works, and the standard of training in the colonial civil service too low.

The Philippines came into the possession of the United States by the chance of war. No influential body of opinion before the war with Spain expected or desired dependencies in those distant and unknown Asiatic seas. With the West Indies the case was different. The islands of the Caribbean are closely related to the North American continent by geographical nearness and commercial intercourse, a relationship upon which turned in large measure the international policy of the colonial powers of Europe until 1763, the position of the thirteen American colonies in the British Empire, their revolt and independence. For the new nation West Indian affairs held from the beginning a prominent place in diplomacy, and the Antilles offered a field for American expansion from an early day, especially the great island of Cuba, lying so close to the American coast. With the rise of the slavery question in the United States the sentiment for the annexation of Cuba became identified in the minds of Northern men with the policy of slavery extension, and thus received a decisive check until slavery was abolished as a result of the Civil War. Notwithstanding the fierce domestic controversies excited by the grave problems of reconstruction, the programme of West Indian expansion was resumed, under the leadership of William H. Seward, Secretary of State, by his offer (July 17, 1866) of $5,000,000 in gold for the Danish West Indies. A treaty was concluded, October 25, 1867, for the purchase of the islands of St. Thomas and St. John for the sum of $7,500,000 subject to the consent of the inhabitants: Notwithstanding a prompt ratification by Denmark and a vote of acceptance by the islanders, the treaty was rejected by the United States Senate in 1868 under the leadership of Charles Sumner, who was hostile to President Johnson's administration on reconstruction issues. A like fate befell a treaty for the annexation of the republic of Santo Domingo, negotiated in the first year of President Grant's first administration. The Cuban insurrections of 1868-1878 and 1895-1898 kept the question of expansion in the West Indies before the public until the intervention of the United States involved the country in war with Spain. The self-denying clause of the joint resolution of Congress for intervention, disclaiming any intention to annex Cuba, was silent as to Porto Rico, and soon after the fall of Santiago an expedition under General Miles landed at Guanica, on July 25, 1898. It was enthusiastically welcomed by the people, overran the greater part of the island without serious resistance, and was prevented from achieving a complete conquest only by the signing at Washington of a peace protocol (August 12, 1898) by the terms of which the island was to be ceded to the United States.

The history of Porto Rico in the nineteenth century is uneventful. It beat off, in 1797, an attack by an English fleet, shared in the revolt against Napoleon's usurpation in Spain, in the privileges of the Spanish Constitution of 1812, in the suffering under the restored absolutism of Ferdinand VII., and in the revolutionary movement which followed throughout Spanish America, but the declaration of independence issued by the republican junta was ineffectual, and the royal authority was fully restored in 1823. Numbers of loyalists from the revolted continental colonies found refuge in the island, strengthening the reactionary policy of the government. The Spanish revolution of 1868 restored to Porto Rico the privilege of representation in the Cortes at Madrid, and decreed the freedom of all children thereafter born of slave mothers, but it was not until 1873 that slavery was entirely abolished. The Cuban revolt of 1895 was accompanied by political unrest in Porto Rico, which led to many arrests and the formation of a revolutionary junta of exiles in New York. The autonomous constitution conceded by the royal decree of November 25, 1897, never had a fair trial, and was suspended on the outbreak of war with the United States. The evils of the Spanish colonial government in Porto Rico were like those of which the Cubans complained, but the economic conditions of the smaller island were more healthful. The slaves were never numerous in proportion to the whole population; the island is much smaller than Cuba, and has a much denser population; the sugar estates are comparatively small, and employ but few laborers, and as there is little or no waste land, everyone in the island, as in Barbados, must either work or starve.

After the American conquest Porto Rico was under military government for nearly two years, during which time many reforms were undertaken. Vaccination was introduced, the courts reorganized, the prisoners in the crowded jails tried or set free, the writ of habeas corpus introduced, a system of common schools begun, and popular municipal governments created. A system of internal taxation, devised by Prof. Hollander of Johns Hopkins University, was later adopted by the legislature. The transfer of the island from Spain to the United States put it outside the Spanish tariff system, closing the Spanish market to its products and not opening any compensating market in America. Upon the urgent recommendation of President McKinley the customs duties between Porto Rico and the United States were removed, but in order to provide revenue pending the adoption of a permanent system of taxation, the operation of the removal was, at the request of the military governor, suspended as to fifteen per cent. of those duties. The industrial depression caused by the temporary lack of an export market was heightened by a very destructive hurricane which swept over the island from end to end on August 8, 1889, which was followed by torrential rain and a tidal wave on the south coast. It killed 2700 people, reduced over 100,000 to absolute destitution, destroyed fully two-thirds of the coffee crop, and seven-tenths of all crops on the island. An appeal to the people of the United States for help was generously responded to, and supplies to the value of over $800,000 were distributed to the sufferers, and the expenditure of $950,000 on military roads was authorized by the war department to afford employment for those in need of relief. On May 1, 1900, the government was transferred to the civil authorities. The political constitution set up by the act of Congress approved April 12, 1900, confides the executive power to a governor and an executive council of eleven members, six of whom are high administrative officers, all appointed by the President for four years. The executive council, of whom at least five must be natives of Porto Rico, forms the upper house of the legislature. The house of delegates, or lower chamber, is chosen by voters, who must have paid taxes or be able to read and write. The voters also choose a resident commissioner to the United States. The area of the island is 3668 square miles, population (1910) 1,118,012.

The present governor of Porto Rico, Col. G. R. Colton, was inaugurated November 6, 1909. The President submitted to Congress an amended organic act for Porto Rico, on January, 29, 1910, believing that the time had arrived for making changes in its government. Congress passed the tariff bill governing Porto Rico, on July 9, 1909, and August 2, the Senate confirmed it. The chief product of the island is coffee. Other important products are sugar, tobacco, fruits, and vegetables. The bulk of the island's trade is now with the United States.

We may properly add here a brief account of Cuban affairs in the nineteenth century, ending in the armed intervention of the United States and the control of the island by the American military government, pending the creation of an independent Cuban republic. The history of Cuba since the beginning of the last century proves that the Spanish Government has not been altogether so blind and senseless as might be supposed from the history of Spanish America in general. It would indeed have been extraordinary, if the course of events in the neighboring island of Hayti, the landing of the French in 1807, the proclamation of Ferdinand VII. by the Spaniards in Cuba in 1808, the terrible rising of the slaves under Aponte in 1812, and the successive revolutions which were convulsing Spanish America, had not taught even the Spanish Government an obvious lesson. Cuba had always been thought a valuable colony. Its value was at once increased manifold by the ruin of the trade of Hayti, and the Cadiz regency would have been blind indeed not to see that it was worth preserving. In 1813 Cuba was liberated from the bonds of the old colonial system. Her ports were thrown open, the Constitution of Cadiz was proclaimed, and Cuban representatives were summoned to the Cortes. The representation, which was of little use, was abolished, but the other concessions were afterward confirmed by the monarchy. A change of hardly less importance took place in 1815, when the government monopoly of tobacco was abolished. This, as we have seen, had been one of the most keenly felt grievances in all the Spanish colonies. The tobacco trade soon developed amazingly, but its progress was not so surprising as that of the sugar cultivation. While the rest of the famous old West India sugar colonies were suffering misfortune and decay, Cuba was enjoying growth and prosperity. About the time of the French Revolution Cuba produced annually about a quarter of a million hundredweights of sugar; by the year 1820, this produce had increased fourfold; and the produce fifty years later was twenty million hundredweights a year, or eighty times as much as at the time of the French Revolution.

The effect of the abandonment of the old colonial system will be understood when we consider that seventy-five per cent. of this enormous sugar crop went to the United States, fifteen per cent. to England, and less than two per cent. to Spain itself. The reason of this extraordinary prosperity is obvious. In the first place some of the causes which, as we have seen, depressed the British West Indies, stimulated the growth of Cuba. Cuba long enjoyed the benefit of slave labor. Its vast plantations employed something like half a million slaves, whose value had gradually risen from $700 to $1000 each. Besides this, all the stream of Peninsular emigrants, who in former times spread all over Spanish America to trade on the privileges which the Spaniard enjoyed to the exclusion of the creole, had been for fifty years directed to Cuba and Porto Rico. These islands, and especially Cuba, were thus placed with regard to Spain in an entirely new relation. While the distinction between the Spaniards and the creoles was still kept up, as strongly as it ever was in Mexico or Peru, the Spaniards far exceeded the creoles in wealth and political influence, though not in numbers. Cuba was really a republic of the resident Spaniards, holding the island by a volunteer force raised among themselves, and owning allegiance to the mother-country not because the mother-country was able to keep them under control, but because this nominal connection with the mother-country enabled them to keep the creoles or "Cuban" party under control. The island, like French Hayti in the old times, was thus divided between the Spanish and "Cuban" parties. The "Cuban" party, as in Hayti, consisted largely of mulattoes and negroes, and was in favor of the abolition of slavery; and it seemed probable that if the "Cubans" should ever gain the upper hand, establish the republic, and abolish slavery, the Spaniards would leave the island, as the French planters left Hayti after the abolition of slavery by the French Assembly, leaving the creoles of all shades of color to fight out the same battle which we find presented in Haytian history, with much the same results. Unfortunately for humanity, the cause of slavery and of unequal civil rights thus became in Cuba the cause of law and order; and during the whole of the nineteenth century, the "Cubans" were more or less in a state of revolt. When an insurrection broke out, there were always plenty of runaway slaves ready to enlist for the pleasure of shooting their masters; and as the central and eastern departments afford an ample cover of forest and mountain, it was impossible for the Spaniards, with their limited army of volunteers, to put an effectual stop to it. The turbulence of the "Cubans" of course led to increased stringency of government; and in consequence of the formidable risings of 1823 and 1829, the island had to be placed under what was almost a military despotism. Under Captain-General Tacon, in 1834-1838, there was an unusual degree of peace and prosperity; but the time of his successor, O'Donnell, was marked by the well-organized conspiracy of 1844, for participation in which the famous Cuban poet Placido was executed. The European revolutions of 1848 were soon followed by risings in various parts of the island; and in the next year it was threatened by filibustering expeditions from the United States. In 1850, Narcisso Lopez, at the head of one of these expeditions, landed and took the town of Cardenas. He was forced to retire; and on returning in the next year, he was seized and executed. In the meantime the idea gained ground in Spain that it would be well to mitigate the despotism of Cuba, and to endeavor to get rid of slavery by encouraging emancipation and immigration. In 1851 a governing council was established in Madrid; and in the time of Pezuela in 1853, the first attempts were made at the systematic introduction of free labor. The "Cubans" readily responded to these efforts, in the belief that their cause was gaining ground; and tidings of the revolution of 1868 had no sooner reached the colony, than the standard of independence was again raised by Cespedes and Diaz, who thus began the "ten years war." The Spanish party, however, soon proved to be unmistakably in the ascendant. The massacres of Havana in 1869 checked all participation in the movement on the part of the inhabitants of the capital; and the volunteers soon cleared the whole western province of the insurgents, though several thousand men under arms, chiefly runaway negroes, still continued to haunt the mountainous districts of the center. In 1870 the Cortes of Madrid, bent on liberal measures, passed the "Moret law," abolishing slavery for all negroes born after 1868, and emancipating all who at that date were sixty years old and upward.[4] There was nothing in common between the Spanish party in the colony and the leaders of the Spanish revolution, and General Prim unsuccessfully endeavored to sell the island to the United States.

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[4] Slavery finally became extinct in 1887.

Intervention by the latter country was narrowly averted in 1873, after the capture of the American "filibuster" *Virginius* and the summary execution of fifty-three of her officers and men. In the following year the Spanish republic was overthrown, and the Bourbon dynasty restored. The war in Cuba dragged on until February 10, 1878, when the "Peace of Zanjon" was agreed to and the insurgents laid down their arms in consideration of reforms promised by Spain, but never fully carried out. The discontent of the patriot party smoldered for seventeen years, and at last broke out into open revolt February 24, 1895. The uprising had been carefully prepared and the Spanish were unable to crush it by the ordinary methods of warfare.. In February, 1896, Don Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau, Marquis of Teneriffe, came out as governor and forthwith adopted the policy of forcing all the inhabitants of the island to concentrate in the cities and fortified places in the Spanish lines. In the course of the following year, perhaps half a million wretched non-combatants, largely women and children, were by the enforcement of this order driven from their homes after their property and means of subsistence had been destroyed, and were herded together without sufficient shelter, food, or medical care in the forts and towns, where 200,000 of them died of starvation and disease. This brutal measure excited great indignation in the United States. In October, 1897, Weyler was recalled, and on November 25 an autonomous constitution was proclaimed. The concession was made too late. The war prevented a fair trial of the new government, and the people of the United States were too much aroused and too distrustful of Spanish purposes to allow a sufficient time for the experiment. Their anger was increased by the destruction of the battleship *Maine*, in the harbor of Havana on February 15, 1898, with the loss of two of her officers and 264 of her crew, a disaster attributed by an American naval court of inquiry to the explosion of a submarine mine and by a similar Spanish court to an internal explosion of the vessel's magazines. On April 18 the United States made a formal declaration of intervention, demanding that Spain relinquish her authority and withdraw her forces, and disclaiming any intention to exercise sovereignty or control in Cuba except for its pacification, and promising when this should be accomplished to leave the control of the island to its people. In the war which followed the Spanish squadron under Admiral Cervera, in trying to escape from the harbor of Santiago, was destroyed by the American blockading squadron on July 3, and shortly thereafter the town and the Spanish army holding it capitulated to the besieging American army. By the peace protocol of August 12, Spain formally relinquished all claim of sovereignty over and title to Cuba.

The American military occupation which followed the peace was charged with the duty of pacifying the island and carrying on its government until the Cuban people should be able to undertake the task. The new government was confronted with peculiar difficulties and a situation almost unprecedented. The very foundations of social order were broken up. The country was impoverished, industry paralyzed, and large numbers of people in danger of speedy starvation. The army of independence was unpaid, and might prove dangerous. The hatred engendered by the long war and by a century of oppression made necessary the protection of the large resident Spanish population from the vengeance of the Cubans. The people were wholly untrained in self-government. The percentage of illiteracy was high, and schools were few in number and poor in quality. The filthy jails were crowded with prisoners, many of whom had been awaiting trial for years, and against some of whom no charge could be found. The sanitary conditions of the cities were extremely bad, and the island was notorious as a breeding place of yellow fever. The military government, under General John R. Brooke until December 13, 1899, and thereafter under General Leonard Wood, was brilliantly successful in overcoming these difficulties. Order was restored and maintained; a native rural guard and native municipal police organized and trained; the starving people fed and clothed until they could resume productive industry; the charitable institutions of the island reorganized; the Cuban army paid and disbanded; the school enrollments increased from 36,000 to 180,000; the teaching reformed upon the best American models; the jails cleansed and many of the prisoners released; the cities protected by the best methods of scientific sanitation; Havana transformed from one of the least to one of the most healthful of cities; and yellow fever entirely stamped out. This last brilliant achievement was due to the important scientific discoveries of Major Walter Reed and Major William C. Gorgas and their subordinates of the medical department of the army, showing that yellow fever infection is carried from diseased to healthy persons only by bites of mosquitoes, and may be effectually controlled by the destruction of the insects and the protection of the sick against them. In the course of the investigation Dr. Jesse W. Lazear, contract surgeon, heroically offered himself for inoculation with the yellow fever germ and died of the disease. In all the work of administration Cubans were employed in the civil service as far as possible, in order to afford them a training in the methods of self-government; and as a basis for the political organization which had to be created a census was taken, showing a population of 1,572,797, of whom fifty-eight per cent. were native-born whites, nine per cent. foreign-born whites, thirty-two per cent. negroes and of mixed race, and sixty-six per cent. illiterate. The period given by treaty for the Spanish residents to elect Spanish or Cuban citizenship expired April 11, 1900, and provision was immediately made for the election of municipal officers by the people under a suffrage restricted to all adult male citizens who could read and write or possessed property to the value of $250, or had served in the patriot army. The new municipal governments were peacefully established on June 16, and their powers were soon enlarged by military order. On July 25 a call was issued for the election of delegates under the same election law to frame and adopt a constitution for the new republic, "and as a part thereof to provide for and agree with the government of the United States upon the relations to exist between that government and the government of Cuba." Delegates were chosen September 15, and the convention met in Havana November 5. On February 21, 1901, it adopted a constitution embodying a bill of rights and providing for universal suffrage; a president; vice-president, and house of representatives elected for four years; a senate, one-half of whose members are elected every fourth year for a term of eight years; cabinet ministers appointed and removed by the president; provincial governments with limited powers, subject to the control of the central executive; and a supreme court with power to pass upon the constitutionality of laws. The so-called "Platt amendment" was passed by the Congress of the United States as a proviso annexed to the army appropriation act approved March 2, 1901. It authorized the President to transfer the government to the new republic when the constitution thereof embodied provisions forbidding Cuba to make a treaty impairing its independence or authorizing foreign colonization or military lodgment in the island, or to contract any debt beyond the amount which the ordinary revenues can pay interest upon and provide a sinking fund for; authorizing intervention by the United States to preserve Cuban independence and maintain a stable government; validating all acts of the military government, binding the new republic to carry out certain sanitary plans; and providing for coaling and naval stations for the United States. The Platt amendment was made a part of the constitution by an ordinance adopted by the convention June 12. On December 31, the officers of the new government were elected, and on May 20, 1902, at noon, the government was transferred to them with appropriate ceremonies, and the military forces of the United States were withdrawn except detachments of artillery remaining as garrisons of naval stations. While Cuba was given its independence, the United States has continued to maintain a paternal oversight, and whenever it deemed it necessary, directed affairs. On November 12, 1909, it asked Cuba to explain its new trade treaty with Spain.

For three-quarters of a century the United States have shown a keen interest in the project of uniting the Atlantic and Pacific oceans by a canal, and in 1846 a treaty with New Grenada (now Colombia) charged the United States with the duty of preserving free and open transit across the Isthmus of Panama, and guaranteed to New Grenada her rights of sovereignty and property there. In performance of the duty of keeping transit open the United States had frequent occasion to land troops on the isthmus to protect the railroad from obstruction or control at the hands of one or other of the parties to the many revolutions which have succeeded one another there. The failure of the French canal company established the fact that private enterprise was inadequate to the task of piercing the isthmus; public sentiment in the United States forbade any other nation to undertake it; the events of the war with Spain demonstrated the necessity of its accomplishment; and the Hay-Pauncefote treaty removed the last obstacle to complete American control by abrogating the long-standing Clayton-Bulwer treaty and the British rights secured thereby. Congress, by an act passed July 28, 1902, authorized the President to acquire from Colombia a strip of land for the canal, to be under the control of the United States and subject to their jurisdiction as to police and sanitary regulations, and further authorizing the payment of $40,000,000 for the property of the French company. If within reasonable time the President could not obtain the desired rights at Panama he was to negotiate for similar rights at Nicaragua. In accordance with this act the Hay-Herran treaty was negotiated, giving to the United States such control and jurisdiction over a strip ten miles wide, including the cities of Colon and Panama, in exchange for $10,000,000. It was coldly received by the Colombia Congress, and its rejection became more probable as the session drew toward its end. This led to plots of revolution among the people of the isthmus, who ardently wished for the canal. News of this condition of affairs reached the President through the newspapers and the reports of American officers on the ground. The Colombia Congress came to a close, October, 1903, without ratifying the treaty. On November 3 a bloodless uprising occurred in Panama, the new republic was proclaimed and the persons of the chief civil and military officers of Colombia secured. A naval force was therefore ordered to the isthmus on November 3 instructed to maintain free and open transit and prevent the landing of any force, government or insurgent, at any point within fifty miles of Panama. There remained a Colombian force of about 500 men in Colon which threatened to fire on the town and kill all American citizens therein unless their officers who had been seized in Panama were restored to them. Thereupon a force of forty-two men was landed from the U. S. S. *Nashville* to protect American lives and property, to keep the railroad open, and prevent its use for military purposes. On November 5 the Colombian troops were persuaded by the revolutionists to embark, and the arrival of the U. S. S. *Dixie* insured the presence of a force adequate to protect American lives and property. The new republic was immediately recognized by the United States, which applied to it as against Colombia the guaranty of the rights of sovereignty and property promised to New Grenada by the treaty of 1846. This was on the theory that the guaranty "ran with the land," in the words of Secretary Hay, and inured to the benefit of the new republic as soon as it became unquestionably established. The territory thus neutralized and protected by the United States included the cities of Colon and Panama, the railroad, and all of the isthmus that was of any value. Moreover, it could be approached only by sea, and the prohibition of the landing of any attacking force within fifty miles was a complete bar to effective hostilities.

The republic of Panama was quickly recognized by the leading powers of Europe, and soon negotiated a treaty with the United States, giving to the United States a much larger and more complete control than that rejected by Colombia. The new treaty was ratified by the United States Senate February 23, 1904, by a vote of 72 to 17. An act was passed April 28, authorizing the President to pay to Panama the stipulated $10,000,000, take possession of the canal strip, establish such government there as might be necessary, and clothe the Panama Commission with powers at his discretion. Seven commissioners were appointed, headed by Rear Admiral John G. Walker, and on May 9 the President issued formal instructions to govern them in the double task of civil government and engineering enterprise. By these instructions the commission, subject to the approval of the Secretary of War, was empowered to legislate for the Canal Zone, including the making of sanitary ordinances for the cities of Colon and Panama.

In 1907 President Roosevelt decided that the work of constructing the Canal could best be done under direct government supervision, and therefore placed it under the immediate control of the Engineer Corps of the United States Army. Major G. W. Goethals, U. S. A., became Engineer in Chief and Chairman of the Isthmian Canal Commission. The progress of the work on the Canal since then was above all estimates, and the Canal in 1913 was rapidly approaching completion.

The Canal will be about 50 miles in length and the channel ranges in width from 300 to 1,000 feet, the average bottom width being 640 feet. The minimum depth is 41 feet. The time required for a vessel to pass from ocean to ocean is estimated at 9 to 10 hours.

The principal features of the Canal are the great locks at Gatun, at Pedro Miguel and Miraflores. The three locks at Gatun carry the Canal up 85 feet to the level of the Gatun Lake, an artificial lake that has an area of 164 square miles. The installation of the lock machinery at Gatun began in September, 1911, and at Pedro Miguel in January, 1912. All locks are in pairs so that they may be used simultaneously by vessels going in opposite directions. Canal fortifications were authorized by Act of March 4, 1911. Forts at each entrance to the Canal are being constructed and the Canal will eventually be so fortified that its capture or destruction by any hostile nation will be an impossibility.

One of the most important features of the work done on the Canal has been the sanitation of the entire Zone. Under Colonel W. G. Gorgas, U. S. A., as chief sanitary officer, the Canal strip has been cleared of yellow fever and malaria, and transformed into one of the healthiest spots on earth.

The division of Municipal Engineering alone spent $6,000,000 in preventative measures, such as supplying pure water and laying a complete system of sewerage.

The most serious features of the work on the Panama Canal were the tremendous slides in the banks of the Culebra Cut. They added greatly to the amount of material that had to be excavated and largely increased the cost of construction.

The Act of August 24, 1912, made provision for a permanent government of the Canal Zone for the administration of the Canal when opened for commerce. A governor was to be appointed for a term of four years who would have charge of the Canal's maintenance, operation, sanitation and government. President Taft on November 14, 1912, promulgated a schedule of Canal tolls which were based upon estimates of Mr. Emory R. Johnson, a Canal Commissioner. These tolls were not intended to be high enough to make the Canal a financial success, but were thought to be based on a fair estimate of what the volume of traffic would be. The Act exempted from payment of tolls all vessels engaged in the coastwise trade of the United States, but forbade American railways to own ships operating in the Canal. The tolls were $1.20 per net vessel-ton, 40 per cent. less on vessels in ballast, and 50 cents per displacement ton on all naval vessels.

Up to June 30, 1912, the total amount expended for the Canal work was $293,561,469, and by the Act of August 24, 1912, $28,980,000 was appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1913, while the estimate for the year ending June 30, 1914, was $30,174,432.

On April 1, 1914, under provisions of the Panama Canal Act of August 24, 1912, the Isthmian Canal Commission ceased to exist. It was succeeded by the permanent organization for the completion, maintenance, government, and operation of the canal. This permanent organization was placed under Colonel Goethals, whose title was changed to that of Governor of the Canal Zone. The coastwise tolls exemption act was repealed in June, 1914.

On August 14, 1914, the Panama Canal was opened to navigation. The event was celebrated in San Francisco by the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, in which most of the states and territories and about 39 foreign countries took part. The Exposition was opened in 1915 after more than three years' preparation and an estimated expenditure of over $50,000,000. The grounds and buildings that housed the 80,000 exhibits were beautifully designed, the famous Tower of Jewels being the climax of the decorative scheme. It was estimated that 18,413,399 persons attended the Exposition.

From time to time there have been slides in the canal, especially in the Gaillard Cut, but dredges have successfully removed the silt, usually without undue delay to the passage of ships.

In spite of the World War, traffic through the canal increased notably in the years following the opening. One of the chief causes of war-time growth came through the trade in nitrates with the west coast of South America. Since 1922 the increase in revenue has markedly outstripped the increase in cost of maintaining the canal. In 1921, after much discussion, the bill providing toll exemption for American coastwise shipping was passed by the United States Senate.

The fiscal year ending June 30, 1928, established new records for the number of transits through the Canal and the tolls collected. The total commercial transits were 6,456, and the tolls collection amounted to $26,944,499.77. The vessels of 23 nations were included in this year's traffic, the United States' and British ships leading as usual. Mineral oils continued to be the commodity shipped in largest quantity, comprising 19.7 per cent of the cargo carried through the Panama Canal in commercial ships from July 1, 1927, to June 30, 1928.

Major General Goethals, who was the first Governor of the Canal Zone, died in January, 1928. Colonel Chester Harding, Colonel Jay J. Morrow, and Colonel Meriwether L. Walker have also occupied the post. In 1928, Colonel Harry Burgess received the appointment.

Besides the usual functions of government, the Canal Zone Government participates in such business activities as are concerned with shipping and the housing of shipping employees. With the increased use of the canal these administrative duties have become more important. According to the 1928 canvass, the civil population has reached a total of 28,002, about 20,000 of whom are West

Indians and natives. There are approximately 9,000 persons in military and naval stations.

The inhabitants of Porto Rico were granted citizenship in the United States by a bill which was passed by the Congress of that nation on March 2, 1917. Any citizen of the island might, however, renounce his citizenship within a year. The elections of July, 1917, were held under this law.

On July 16, 1917, as part of the general elections, prohibition was voted by the people by a majority of 38,000 out of a total of 160,000 votes. A special session of the Legislature sat from February 6 to February 16, 1918. Various measures for increasing the revenues of the Government were passed, because of the loss in revenue incurred as a result of the enforcing of the prohibition measure which took effect on March 2, 1918.

During 1918, three Officers' Training Camps were opened from which 425 men were commissioned. The comparatively large number of young men who entered these Training Camps seriously affected the administration of the Insular Government, especially the Departments of Education and the Insular Police.

Amendments to tax laws were passed by the legislature on April 26, 1920, and later important changes were effected in the Election Laws, in the Excise Laws, and in the Workmen's Compensation Laws.

President Harding appointed E. Mont Reily as Governor, who succeeded A. M. Yager who had held the post since 1913. At the outset of the administration of the new Governor, strong opposition developed by the political leaders of the island. The Governor in turn accused the Unionist Party of aiming at secession from the United States. This caused the resignation of the political leader Señor Barcelo, who later, however, resumed his office. In 1922 the Upper and Lower Houses petitioned President Harding to remove Governor Reily, but no action by Washington resulted. On April 1, 1923, Governor Reily resigned in face of continued political opposition. He was succeeded by Horace M. Towner, and the political situation in Porto Rico became less difficult.

The Legislation in 1923 and 1924 passed many important measures for the benefit of Porto Rico and instituted a commission to study and carry out projects for rural improvement.

In 1925 it was estimated that illiteracy within twenty years had been reduced from 75 per cent to 30 per cent. Trunk roads which bind the island into almost one continuous community are another progressive feature of the American Administration. Great extension of waterworks and electric lighting for inland towns was made in 1925 and 1926. These were made possible by loans from the Treasury. The increase in public wealth was also reflected in a decided boom in house construction of the better type and most costly in construction. The sound financial condition of Porto Rico, showing an increase of $5,000,000 in the value of the sugar crop of 1925 over that of 1924, was made public by Governor Towner on January 4, 1926. A steady increase in internal trade was also emphasized. The report of Governor Towner in October, 1926, showed that the external trade of Porto Rico was, in 1926, $193,983,115, an increase of $8,659,570 over that of the preceding year.

The enforcement of the Prohibition law has been hard for Porto Rico. After the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment, such enforcement was transferred from the local police to a Federal force and later to the Collector General of Customs. The law has impaired the island's foreign trade, since vessels with alcoholic beverages on board have ceased calling at Porto Rican ports. The Governor of Porto Rico's report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1927, gives the total imports as $98,810,750, and the total exports as $108,067,434, of which amount $100,574,000 was with the United States.

In February, 1928, the Porto Rican Legislature appealed to President Coolidge for the status of a Free State for the island. In his reply, adverse, President Coolidge pointed out the present advantages of Porto Rico, that it has a greater degree of autonomy than any state of the United States, that its industries have been vastly improved by American capital, and that it pays no tax into the Federal treasury, but enjoys many Federal services supported entirely by the United States Government.

On September 12 and 13, 1928, a terrific cyclonic storm devasted Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands. In Porto Rico, 400,000 people were rendered homeless and property loss was estimated at $100,000,000. The staple crops of sugar, coffee, tobacco, and citrous fruits suffered greatly and the ruin of lesser crops worked great hardship to individuals.

On January 17, 1917, the Danish Islands, situated about 25 miles due east of Porto Rico, were ceded to the United States by Denmark for the sum of $25,000,000. The fine harbor of Charlotte

Amalie (now St. Thomas) on the Island of St. Thomas, together with the strategic position of the islands with reference to the Panama Canal, were reasons for acquiring them even at a high price. The main islands in the group are St. Thomas, St. John and St. Croix, having a combined area of about 132 square miles and a population, according to the 1917 census, of 26,051, most of whom are negroes. The principal harbor is that of St. Thomas, which has coal and oil fueling stations.

The Government, at first under the Navy, is now entirely civil. It is headed by a Governor, appointed by the President of the United States. Capt. Waldo Evans, U. S. N., was appointed to this office in 1927. During this year full American citizenship was extended to natives of the Islands. Health, education, and public works departments receive the major part of the Government budget.

Since 1914 the commerce of the port of St. Thomas has decreased, and the prohibition law of the United States interfered with the rum and bay rum trade of St. Croix and St. Thomas. After several seasons of drought the sugar industry picked up again in 1926. For the fiscal year of 1926-27 imports from the United States amounted to $1,773,530 and exports to the United States, $616,856. The entire exports during the fiscal year, 1926, were valued at $1,119,706, and the imports at $2,531,404.

Hawaii, the largest military outpost of the United States, was extensively affected by the declaration of war of the United States against Germany. The National Guard was brought up to the maximum point of enlistment and efficiency, and after having been reorganized, took over the policing of the islands, relieving the regular army, which formerly had been entrusted with this task. Eight German vessels and gunboats which, at the outbreak of the war, had been interned at the port of Honolulu, together with some merchantmen in the port of Hilo, were seized by the United States Navy Department, after war had been declared.

The Ninth Territorial Legislature, which sat from February 21 to April 21, 1917, passed acts creating a commission to increase, conserve, regulate and control the food supply of the Territory; revised the banking laws; established a minimum wage of $40 a month for public school teachers; provided for the voting of citizens absent in the Army and Navy; and enacted an elaborate insurance law.

On June 1, 1918, the first and second regiments, Hawaiian

Infantry National Guard, were drafted into the Federal service. At the same time steps were taken for the organization of a new National Guard regiment and of a company of coast artillery.

The Territory suffered the greatest storm in its history during 1918. Much property damage was done in the district of Kohala. A special session of the Territorial Legislature, called by the Governor on May 14, 1918, provided for the rebuilding of bridges and other public works which had been destroyed; established a municipal market in Honolulu; defined disloyalty and provided for its punishment; and enacted measures looking toward an adequate food supply. C. J. McCarthy was appointed Governor of the Territory by President Wilson, in 1918.

In the latter part of August, 1919, Secretary of the Navy Daniels with an official party visited the Islands for the purpose of opening the new Pearl Harbor Dry Dock in Honolulu Harbor. On November 28, 1919, the Kilauea volcano crater caved in.

Serious labor strikes on sugar plantations occurred in the first six months of 1920, the strikers finally returning to the old scale of wages. In 1921 the legislature raised the limit of outstanding bond indebtedness to $17,500,000, and created a court of domestic relations and passed regulations for hours of labor affecting children. In this same year, Wallace R. Farrington was appointed Governor, his term to expire in 1929. The legislature of 1923 passed a number of important measures including laws governing territorial tax, election laws, and one amending the workmen's compensation act.

The Pan Pacific Union organized for conference upon various fields—economical, educational, scientific—has been held at Honolulu at yearly intervals since 1920. In 1925 was organized the Institute of Pacific Relations patterned after the Williamstown Institute. This met in July, 1927, with 136 members from every nation that held a close relationship to the interests of the Pacific. Here gathered delegates from the United States, Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Japan and China. Issues that aroused the deepest national feelings were frankly discussed and treated. Considerable attention was given to a study of the international machinery for settling issues that might arise between the various states bordering the Pacific. These conferences bear witness of the growing importance of the Pacific area and especially Hawaii's dominant position.

Hawaii's commerce with the United States for the year ending December 31, 1926, was exports to the United States $98,260,941, with imports from the United States of $72,262,624. The net assessed value of real and personal property at the latest census, 1927, was $414,064,603.

Alaska became a Territory in 1912 through an Act of Congress. The Government consists of a local legislative assembly having 8 senators and 16 representatives, and is subject to legislation of the Congress at Washington on certain matters. The native population comes under the jurisdiction of the Federal Bureau of Education. George A. Parks, appointed Governor for the four year term by the President of the United States, took office in 1925.

The leading industries, fishing and mining, yielded products valued at $72,327,682 in 1926. Of this sum, the salmon fisheries alone contributed $48,178,965. Blue fox farming, mainly on the small islands, has increased markedly within the last few years. The reindeer industry was introduced by Dr. Sheldon Jackson to provide food and clothing for the Eskimos and has proved successful, though the rapidly increasing herds threaten to overstock the ranges unless the demand for the frozen meat is increased by extending the shipment of this food. The introduction of reindeers solved the need of the natives when their chief sources of livelihood, the whale, walrus, and seal, were becoming scarcer every year. The reindeer lives on a white moss that is abundant in vast stretches of Alaskan land where no other animal could find pasture.

Alaska figured in recent aeronautical activities when the Amundsen polar expedition landed here, and the Wilkins expedition made Point Barrow the base for their explorations.

Mount McKinley National Park is the second largest national park in the United States and is notable, aside from Mount McKinley itself, for its caribou, mountain sheep, and moose.

According to the census of 1920 the population was 55,036, of whom 26,558 were Indians. Juneau, the largest town, is the capital.

Chapter XIX

THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS UNDER THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT[1]

By JEREMIAH JENKS, Ph. D., LL.D.

With Subsequent Events by Adam Ward

IN Chapter XVIII. there was a brief discussion of the history of the Philippine Islands, including the Spanish régime, the revolt of the Filipinos against the domination of Spain before the American occupation, the capture of Manila by the Americans acting in conjunction with the Filipinos, and a brief sketch of the course of events since that time, including the action against the insurgents and some account of the industrial and political situation. Owing, however, to the importance of the later history of the Philippine Islands in its connection with our government of dependencies, it has seemed best to give a somewhat more detailed account of the motives and methods of the American Government in the Philippine Islands, and of the results, up to the present time, of its policy, together with a brief summary of the present political and industrial situation.

When the Americans took possession of the city of Manila they found there engaged in business, with vested interests, a number of important English and Spanish banks and business houses, together with some less important business establishments of other nationalities. In assuming the military control, in accordance with the recognized customs of war and principles of international law, they were compelled to assume the responsibility, so far as this was consonant with military needs, of protecting private persons and property of both the foreign and native inhabitants of the Islands, and these native inhabitants had to be considered by them as a whole. It would not be in accordance with the principles of right, nor would it be looked upon by foreign nations as honorable, to recognize any class or faction in the Islands at the expense of the other members of the community.

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[1] In the preparation of this chapter very free use has been made of the Reports of the Philippine Commission, of the Insular Reports of the War Department, of the Acts of Congress and of the Philippine Commission, and of one or two books, especially that by W. F. Willoughby on "Dependencies of the United States," in which he summarizes many of the acts of the Commission. Other books regarding the Philippines, such as "The Philippine Islands," by Dr. F. W. Atkinson, the former Superintendent of Public Instruction in the Philippines, and "Our Philippine Problem," by Dr. H. P. Willis, have been freely consulted. The judgments regarding the effects of various acts, the purposes of the Government, etc., have been determined not merely from these authorities, but also primarily from personal observation in the islands and from many conferences with officials and persons there in private life—Americans, English, and Filipinos. I have especially to thank Dr. E. W. Kemmerer, the former Chief of the Division of the Currency in the Philippines, who has read the text and made many valuable suggestions.

When peace with Spain was concluded some definite policy had to be adopted. If the Islands were restored to Spain and she were to succeed in again getting the control, the people would be left under a government which would probably be more oppressive than ever before; if Spain should not find herself able to protect the interests of the citizens of other countries who had acquired vested interests in the Islands, there was every reason to believe that international complications would arise which would result in putting the Islands under the control of some other European power. If the United States, after compelling the cession of the Islands by Spain, were to turn them over to the Filipinos, who were under arms, and who had assumed the name of a government, this would have to be done against the most earnest protest of Spaniards, English, and others who had vested interests in the Islands, and who felt that they had every reason to believe that these interests would not be properly protected and cared for by the native Filipinos. Under the circumstances, they would probably have appealed to other governments to insure their safety, and this again would make trouble among the nations. It seemed, therefore, that no other course was left to the United States Government except to take and keep, for a time at any rate, the responsibility for good and safe government in the Philippine Islands, and the control which was necessary to insure such government. As Secretary Taft stated in his noteworthy address delivered shortly before his retirement from the governorship of the Philippine Islands: "If we turn the Islands back to Spain, we should be guilty of a breach of faith to the people who had worked and coöperated with us in driving Spain from power. The United States was responsible to the world for the maintenance of law and order here and was responsible to Spain for the preservation of the rights of her citizens and of her corporations. It had, therefore, to decide whether, as a sovereign with the responsibilities of a sovereign, and with the true interest of these people at heart, it could trust to the chaotic agglomeration of tribes, having no real government except a very imperfect government of military force, to organize the Islands and develop the people as they deserved.

"The United States decided that the people were not able themselves to bring about any beneficial result which would secure an efficient government, either for the preservation of international obligations or for the elevation of the people and the development of the country; that self-government, to be a benefit, must be a growth and an education, and that these people with their three hundred years of subjection to Spain had not reached the point where actual experience in independent self-government would lead them on to a better understanding of it; that they needed the helping and guiding hand of a people who for hundreds of years had fought for individual liberty and popular rule, and who, therefore, knew something of the difficulties of organizing government and maintaining it on a popular basis."

President McKinley, in his instructions to the Secretary of War with respect to the occupation of the country, in his message to the military officers in charge of the Islands, in his instructions to the first Philippine Commission, and later in his message to Congress, in connection with the appointment of the Philippine Civil Commission, made it clear to all persons who were willing to accept his words in good faith that the American Government would follow the policy of administering the government of the Philippine Islands for the benefit of its inhabitants, and that in that administration the natives would be given the privilege of self-government from the beginning to as great an extent as they showed themselves competent to exercise that power. Furthermore, the inhabitants of the Islands, without respect to their former social, political, or economic condition, would be guaranteed, by the exercise of the full power of the United States, if need be, the full rights which the citizens of the United States enjoy, so far as those rights were compatible with orderly government in the Islands. It is worth while to recall here some of the most important of these promises made by the President, and then to see to what extent up to the present time these promises have been fulfilled. The Commission was charged, apart from giving to the inhabitants the benefit of a "wise and generous protection of life and property," in all their relations with the inhabitants of the Islands, to "exercise due respect for all the ideas, customs, and institutions of the tribes which compose the population, emphasizing upon all occasions the just and benevolent intentions of the Government of the United States."

In the proclamation which the Commission issued to the people of the Islands, it said that "the aim and object of the American Government, apart from the fulfillment of the solemn obligations it has assumed toward the family of nations by the acceptance of sovereignty over the Philippine Islands, is the well-being, the prosperity, and the happiness of the Philippine people and their elevation and advancement to a position among the most civilized peoples of the world." It further stated the most important principles which the United States would follow in the carrying out of its policy as follows:

"The most ample liberty of self-government will be granted to the Philippine people which is reconcilable with the maintenance of a wise, just, stable, effective, and economical administration of public affairs and compatible with the sovereign and international rights and obligations of the United States.

"The civil rights of the Philippine people will be guaranteed and protected to the fullest extent; religious freedom assured, and all persons shall have an equal standing before the law.

"Honor, justice, and friendship forbid the use of the Philippine people or Islands as an object or means of exploitation. The purpose of the American Government is the welfare and advancement of the Philippine people.

"There shall be guaranteed an honest and effective civil service, in which, to the fullest extent practicable, natives shall be employed.

"Such is the spirit in which the United States comes to the people of the Philippine Islands. His Excellency the President has instructed the Commission to make it publicly known."

In his instructions to the permanent Commission, likewise, these general principles were reaffirmed and many of the most important ones emphasized.

A noteworthy example of the spirit of the present Commission is found in the fact that during the year 1905 the Governor-General appointed a committee to make a thorough and exhaustive examination of all the bureaus and offices of the Government, and to recommend needed reforms. The Government had, of course, been organized at first at a time of very considerable confusion and disturbance, shortly after the American occupation, and it was felt that the reorganization would probably result in many savings. In accordance with the recommendations made, some bureaus have been abolished, others have been able to cut down their working force, and the result is that there will be made a saving of at least $1,000,000; and this, although the general administration had been before, as a rule, earnest and efficient, the employees of good character, capable and willing to work. The saving made "consists mainly in the simplification of methods and reduction of personnel where not absolutely required."

Beyond any doubt in the attempt to take up the administration of a dependency so far removed from the territory of the United States, the inhabitants of which are so different from the people of the United States in language, in habits of thought, and in type of civilization, mistakes have been made; at times, even unfit agents have been employed, and frequently the best results have not been attained; but, on the whole, it is questionable whether we shall find elsewhere in modern history an instance of an administration of alien territory carried on more unselfishly in the face of annoying opposition of the most exasperating character, or an example of more energetic, more efficient, or wiser constructive statesmanship than has been shown in the creation of this new government in the Philippine Islands.

It has been already stated that the United States Government, in assuming the responsibility of the Philippine Islands, thought it necessary to take upon itself the sovereignty and to administer the government itself. A most important question arising at the beginning was that as to the relationship between the government of the Islands when it should be established, and the federal Government in the United States. At the beginning the occupation was military in character. Under the authority of the Secretary of War and with the help of the army order was first established; then, to a considerable degree, a civil government, including the facilities for education of many of the children, the regular administration of civil and criminal law, and the orderly administration of society as regards protection to business; and, somewhat later, under officials not primarily military officers, there was established even a civil government in the full sense of that term. From the time of the occupation of the city of Manila, then, August 13, 1898, until the act of Congress, July 1, 1902, was put into effect, the government is to be considered practically as an exercise in captured territory of the war powers of the President applied in civil matters. By the act of July 1, 1902, Congress gave to the Philippine Islands substantially the status of a territory of the United States, subject entirely, under the general provisions of the constitution, to the will of Congress, which may either enact legislation itself directly, or may delegate its legislative authority to such agents as it may select—to commissions under the appointment of the President, or, if it thinks it better, to the people of the Islands themselves under whatever restrictions it sees fit to impose.

It is instructive to consider briefly the advantages to the Filipinos of this system of government by congressional will as compared with the advantages which they would have enjoyed if the Islands had been given the position of a State of the United States, as has been advocated by some of the most prominent Filipinos, who, while welcoming the sovereignty of the United States as a necessity of the situation, still believe that more power should be given to the native Filipinos.

In the consideration, political as well as industrial, of the relationship existing between the Philippines and the United States, one should never lose sight of the distance of the Islands, geographically, from the home country, of the differences in climate, and of the differences in populations.

If the Philippine Islands were to be admitted as a State of the Union, it would not be possible, under our constitution, for them to levy any export duties, nor to have any import tariff system separate from that of the United States. Whatever we may think of our present tariff system at home, there can be but one opinion regarding the effect upon the Philippine Islands of extending the system to them. The tariff which has now been provided for them under act of Congress is, on the whole and in spite of a few anomalies, suited to their needs, both as regards the revenue which it supplies, and its relations to the industries of the Islands. The United States tariff, framed for entirely different conditions, would be simply ruinous from either point of view.

Of less importance than the question of the tariff, but still of grave significance for the welfare of the Islands, is the monetary system. It has been possible under the territorial form of government for Congress to provide a system far better adapted to the conditions of the Islands and to the customs of the people than would be the system of the United States itself; but, had the Islands taken the position of a State, no such special provision could have been made.

The coastwise traffic of the United States, as is well known, must be carried on in American bottoms. It has been repeatedly proposed to extend this system to the inter-island traffic of the Philippine Islands, but Congress has from time to time postponed such extension under its special power over the territory in its charge, and has lately again extended the period for the application of the United States coastwise commerce laws until the year 1909; while under its authority the Government of the Philippine Islands has enacted laws suitable to local conditions providing for the inter-island traffic.

Doubtless other instances might readily be found in which the Philippines now enjoy the possibility and actuality of legislation and administration adapted to their special needs, whereas if they were under State government they would be, of necessity, compelled to accept laws suitable to the other States of the Union, but markedly unsuitable to their conditions.

Although, as we shall see, Congress has perhaps not in all instances been as liberal in its independent legislation as the Filipinos may very properly desire, it still has done more in many respects in the making of suitable laws than would be possible if the Philippines were admitted as a State of the Union, to say nothing of the very serious objections that would be raised to any such proposition on the part of many of the inhabitants of the United States. Attention is called to this situation primarily because statehood has been advocated by some of the wisest and most influential of the Filipinos themselves.

The fears of the Spaniards and also of many of the Filipinos in the earlier days that, inasmuch as the people of the United States are in large majority Protestant, their government would interfere with the rights or with the freedom of action of either the Roman Catholic Church or of the Philippine people, most of whom are Roman Catholics, has proved utterly unfounded. Full freedom of religion has been enforced. Owing to the feeling of hostility against many of the Spanish friars, they were advised not to attempt to return to the parishes from which they had fled at the time of the Filipino insurrection, but when in individual instances they have thought it best to return, their personal safety has been cared for by the American Government.

On account of the hostility displayed by the people against the friars, it was thought best for the Government of the Philippine Islands to purchase the lands owned by the friars and use it for public purposes for the benefit of the Filipinos themselves. The Holy See, recognizing that while the Filipinos were, generally speaking, Roman Catholics, they were also bitterly opposed to the Spanish friars, thought it wise to supply them priests who would be acceptable. In consequence, the archbishop and bishops appointed to the Philippine Islands since the American occupation have attempted to supply the religious needs of the people by sending to them priests who are acceptable to them. Then the Insular Government has purchased the lands of the friars at an expense, all told, of $6,934,427.36. The funds to make these purchases were obtained through the sale of the bonds of the Philippine Government. The administration of the lands thus purchased has been put under the control of the Bureau of Public Lands, which, as rapidly as possible, is leasing the lands with the intention of subdividing and selling them to the occupants on time, and at a price substantially that of the first cost to the Government. It seems probable that, generally speaking, the former tenants of the religious orders who are the present occupants will become the owners of these lands at very reasonable rates. Even though the Government itself should suffer some financial loss, the removal of this disturbing question from the possibility of political controversy is a matter for congratulation.

Within the Church itself, there has been, as is well known, a bitter controversy involving the ownership and possession of many of the churches. Bishop Aglipay organized an independent Filipino Church, which, with the approval of the local authorities, in many cases occupied a larger number of the churches, convents, and cemeteries. These properties, having been formerly under the control of the Roman Catholic Apostolic Church, at that time the sole organized religious body in the Islands, naturally have been claimed by that organization. In some cases the Aglipayans have dispossessed the Roman Catholics; in others the Roman Catholics have been able to hold possession, and have even dispossessed their rivals. Meantime the Government has held itself entirely free from taking sides except to protect life and property. It has determined that this difficult question must be settled by the courts in due form, and in order to close as soon as possible these controversies, which are naturally carried on with much bitterness, it has, by special legislation, given cases of this kind precedence in the courts.

When, further, it is borne in mind that Roman Catholics among the Americans, so far as they have shown themselves fit, have been freely appointed to positions as teachers in the public schools; that nearly all of the Filipino teachers are Roman Catholics; that no discrimination has been made against Roman Catholics in appointment to public office; and that one of the American members of the Commission is himself a Roman Catholic, while another has had close affiliation with that church, it becomes clear that all fear of interference with freedom of worship is baseless.

One of the most noteworthy facts in connection with American administration has been its care for the public health. In March, 1902, cholera broke out in the Islands, and becoming epidemic continued throughout practically the entire year of 1903. The number of cases in all amounted to 150,000, and the number of deaths to more than 100,000. Generally speaking, the number of deaths and cases was much larger in the provinces which were scourge-afflicted than in Manila. The difficulties of control seemed at first almost insurmountable. The people had no knowledge of the nature of the disease or of its source. In consequence they were inclined to be suspicious of the sanitary measures proposed by the American physicians and officials; they concealed, so far as possible among themselves, cases of the disease, often even throwing the bodies of the dead into the streams, which became thereby thoroughly infected with the germs, and in many cases they opposed actively the measures taken in their behalf. Their remedies as a rule were confined to prayers, to the wearing of charms, and to similar superstitions, while they continued to drink infected water and to conduct their lives regardless of the sanitary precautions recommended by the medical authorities.

First, in the city of Manila, the Government was able, through its police force, strengthened greatly by special appointments for the purpose, to keep the city clean, and to a considerable extent to enforce rigid inspection of the markets and other places for obtaining food supplies. The government ice plant supplied distilled water free for all the poorer people who cared to come to the plant to get it, a rigid quarantine of cholera cases was maintained, patients and those in infected houses were taken to detention quarters until danger of further infection had been removed, and through these rigorous measures the disease was never allowed to become a serious menace to those who took any care of their health, and was comparatively soon put down.

Throughout the provinces sanitary boards, acting generally in concert with the American military and civil officers, were organized as rapidly as possible. There was, however, very great ignorance on the part of many of the natives, even among the officials, and in many cases it did not prove practicable to enforce the same rigid systems of administration that had been found effective in Manila. Nevertheless, very much was accomplished in the way of saving life and, particularly, perhaps, as the disease gradually spent its force or was brought under control, in the way of showing the natives that these extraordinary efforts on the part of the Government were made in the interest of the people themselves.

When later, in August, 1905, the disease appeared again at Manila and also at a few places in the interior not far removed from Manila, it was found much easier to keep it under control. A strict quarantine was imposed to prevent the spread of the disease by sea to other islands or provinces. A cholera hospital was established in Manila to take charge of all cases excepting those in Bilibid Prison, which were managed independently. An educational campaign was undertaken throughout the Islands by proper instructions translated into Spanish and the more important dialects, and these were widely distributed. The efficiency of the school system in this direction was very marked, as these directions were assigned as regular lessons to the school children throughout the Islands, and they were told to give the information thus received to their parents. The provincial and municipal authorities were supplied also with the directions, which they were instructed to make known to the people, and if necessary to put them into force by the passage of the needed ordinances. The Chief of Constabulary distributed the information in the same way through the constabulary posts. In this last outbreak of cholera, in a spirit quite different from that manifested by many of the church authorities before, the American Archbishop Harty of the Catholic Church, and Bishop Aglipay of the independent Filipino Church, coöperated with the authorities in distributing this information through the priests in all parts of the islands, and in getting them to tell the truth regarding the epidemic from their pulpits, and to enjoin upon the people the necessity of taking proper precautions. On account of the improved relations existing between the people and the authorities, in every part of the Islands where cases appeared, it proved possible to give information promptly, and the disease was thus easily suppressed. Whereas, before, the epidemic cost more than 100,000 lives, in 1905 the disease was stamped out with a loss of only a few hundreds and only some two to three hundred in the city of Manila.

The authorities seem also to have been able to get and keep control of the bubonic plague. Although in two or three of the most important cities there have been a few cases a large part of the time, it has been possible to prevent the disease from becoming epidemic.

A good hospital for the insane has been established. A leper colony which had been under consideration for some years has finally been put into effective condition during the last year, so that as rapidly as possible lepers are being segregated. Some valuable medical discoveries seem also to have been made in connection with the treatment of leprosy, although as yet it is too early for the physicians to express more than some degree of hope of the general success of their experiments. It is known that in individual cases they have proved successful.

Smallpox had been prevalent in some of the provinces of the Islands for many years, and many people show the evidence of the ravages of this disease under the earlier forms of government. In some of the worst provinces it has been possible practically to eradicate the disease. In one year in the city of Manila more than 200,000 persons were vaccinated by the Board of Health, besides those vaccinated by private physicians. The number of cases and deaths are now so few as to be almost negligible, practically all of the cases in Manila coming in from outside. In the provinces the campaign against the disease is being steadily carried on. More than a million people, over one-eighth of the entire population, were vaccinated during the year 1905, and it seems probable that within a short time the disease will be as well under control in the Philippines as in the United States.

Besides the very effective measures taken by the Government in getting control of diseases which seemed to have become established in the Islands and in holding in check epidemics, much credit is to be given it for the scientific study which it has made of many of these diseases. There has been for some years, besides the hospitals and the health officers, a special laboratory where investigations and experiments of the greatest importance have been continually carried on and from which have appeared publications of the highest value. Possibly no other service done directly by the Americans has been of greater service to the Filipinos than the work of the sanitary authorities in preventing and combating diseases. Within the last five years, very much of the opposition on the part of the Filipinos arising from suspicion and ignorance has been dispelled, and in the not distant future we may expect a coöperation as great as that to be found in most of the highly civilized countries where there is a large percentage of ignorant people.

It seems probable that no other policy of the American Government has met with more general condemnation on the part of other peoples interested in colonies in the Far East than its policy providing for general education of the Filipino people. It has been thought by many that this education would be a mere waste of money and energy; by others that it was likely to result in direct injury to the Government from training up persons who would become dangerous idlers in the community, ready to promulgate revolutionary doctrines. It is, of course, as yet too early to judge of the ultimate effects of education, but the evidences of the eager desire on the part of the Filipinos themselves for education, and the way in which the work is being done, with its apparent effects, can be made clear. Under the Spanish administration, as is well known, the method of instruction in the public schools was largely a mere learning by rote of text-book questions and answers alike, which gave practically no training excepting of memory, and very little information that proved of lasting importance. The results were naturally meager.

The last report of the General Superintendent of Education for the year 1905 gives some very important facts regarding the present situation. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, the amount expended for educational purposes from insular funds reached 2,827,450 pesos, from provincial funds 78,918.40 pesos, and from municipal funds, 1,797,547.67 pesos, or in all 4,703,916.07 pesos ($2,351,958.03).

More interesting still, perhaps, than the amount of money supplied by taxation, is that provided voluntarily from private sources. So eager have the people been in many cases to secure schools that, in the form of gifts of land, materials, labor, money, etc., there were contributed during that same year, chiefly for the erection of school buildings, 232,988.33 pesos ($116,494.16). It is well known, of course, that besides these direct contributions for the public schools, the expenses of a young man or woman at school are often paid by relatives. But in spite of the showing given, as yet there has been a great deal of difficulty in getting for the schools the proper amount of money to be raised by the local authorities through taxation.

More significant perhaps to most readers than the amount of money expended is the record of attendance; more significant still is the quality of the work. In the year 1903 the Commission reported great satisfaction in the noteworthy increase in the school attendance in all of the provinces with one exception. Even, then, however, only about 150,000 students were in attendance. In March, 1905, only two years later, the total number of children enrolled in the primary schools for the year amounted to 501,000. This, it should be remembered, was accomplished without compulsory attendance, and it is the opinion of the general superintendent that it is due to a "gradual awakened desire on the part of the Filipino parents for education for their children." At the present time the attendance is running beyond the equipment, so that it has been thought best to hold down for a time the enrollment in the primary schools by cutting out the youngest pupils. It is to be hoped that further means can be provided promptly. It is a satisfaction to note also that as time goes on the quality of the work is steadily improving.

It is the aim of the Government to bring a primary education, at any rate, within the reach of the children in every part of the Christianized provinces. Most of the Filipino population are farmers, a large majority of whom own their farms, and yet most of these men at the present time are, according to the superintendent, in absolute ignorance regarding such "practical matters as loans on crops, rates of interest, commissions, profit-sharing, etc." It is estimated that of the some seven millions of Christianized inhabitants, at least six and one-half millions are now helplessly illiterate. It seems that, if these people are to be put into a position to look after their own business and their own rights as citizens, they must be given the elements of an education.

The nature of the instruction to be offered is of prime importance. In different parts of the Islands there are many different languages spoken. If there is to be unity of action among the people in any political way, it is essential that they be given some medium of communication which shall be generally understood. Moreover, the native languages have no literature of consequence; and if the Filipinos are to come in touch with literature of a high type they must become familiar with one of the great modern languages. This language must, of course, be English, and English is, therefore, generally taught. Besides a knowledge of English sufficient to enable them to read and write, an effort will be made to give them the elements, at any rate, of arithmetic, and some slight knowledge of geography. So far they are given three years in reading and writing English, two years in number work, ciphering and keeping accounts, and one year in elementary geography. In addition to these branches, there is a considerable amount of instruction given, more or less incidentally, which is fitted, so far as possible, to the future needs of the boy or the girl. Such topics are those of personal hygiene, bodily exercise, conduct, training in agriculture, or in the industries which happen to be the prominent ones in the special locality, and finally in the fundamental civil rights and duties of the people as provided by law.

The provincial high schools are becoming primarily technical training schools, intended to fit graduates of the course for some useful vocation. The period covered is from three to four years. All of the students have some work in literature and history, and a general course is intended to fit the students for entrance to college in the United States. Besides this, there are courses in teaching, in commerce, in agriculture, and in arts and crafts. All of these students study English; Latin, Spanish, and French are electives, and some one of these languages is taught in each of the high schools. Most of the schools have a good equipment for manual training and carpentry, and practically all of them have ample land for school farms.

Between the primary schools and the high schools mentioned above are the intermediate schools. These are intended to give a somewhat more extended course to the pupils who finish the primary work but are not able to take work in the high school, as well as to serve as a means of preparatory training for those who wish later to enter the high school or eventually college. Inasmuch as so large a proportion of the pupils will not be able to take the higher work, emphasis is laid upon industrial education in these intermediate schools. "For the boys there are two years of practical instruction in gardening and agriculture, and one year in tool work, carpentry and iron work. The girls are taught sewing, housekeeping, house sanitation, serving of meals, care of the sick, etc." Every intermediate school is considered not properly equipped unless provision is made for this industrial training. In addition to these general schools, there is the Philippine School of Arts and Trades in Manila, as well as a School of Commerce.

So much has been said with reference to the American teacher that it is important to note the position that he holds. In 1905 there were in all, including the temporary appointees, 855 American teachers. Of this number about 250 were engaged in secondary and intermediate instruction in the provincial and special schools, a somewhat smaller number in intermediate schools outside of the provincial capitals, and the others in the supervision of school districts. Nearly all of the supervising teachers are naturally Americans, since it was absolutely necessary to reorganize completely all the methods of instruction, as well as the courses of study of the entire archipelago. There were, however, in 1905, thirty-two Filipinos engaged in this supervising duty, and others are assigned as rapidly as possible. Under each supervisor there are from six or eight to twenty-five separate schools which he must inspect and supervise. Usually he rides on horseback from place to place, and often must run considerable risk from contagious diseases, from swollen streams, from robbers, and from exposure of other kinds. In many cases, this supervising teacher is the only exponent of American ideas in the entire district under his charge. He must not merely train the teachers so far as possible, but he must keep in touch with municipal officials and with the public generally of his district. He must attend meetings of the councils to explain to them the needs of the schools; he is responsible for the school property, including the text-books, and is expected to become an authority on the geography and social conditions of his district. The work calls for qualifications of the highest order, and it is a gratification to know that many men are doing this most arduous work in a patriotic spirit calling for the highest commendation.

The teaching corps, so far as both Americans and Filipinos are concerned, is also improving in quality, the general superintendent reports, by a process of weeding out the inefficient and promoting the efficient. Of the teachers coming of late years, a larger proportion seem to be willing to stay in the Islands a longer period of time.

and there is a noticeable improvement in the health of the teaching force. Of the American teachers, the records show that the average absence from duty on account of illness is now only three days per year, although these figures include the long absences occasioned by accidents or disasters not peculiar to the country. It seems probable that the health of the American teaching force in the Islands is now about as good as that of the teachers of the United States.

Every effort is being made to encourage the Filipino teachers and to increase their number. In 1904 the number of Filipino teachers was 3134; in 1905, with only thirty provinces reported, there were 4036—2820 men, 1216 women. In this entire number only 385 were school teachers under the Spanish régime, and only 518 of the entire number of teachers were graduates of the Spanish secondary schools; so that more than 85 per cent. of the present force have been trained by American teachers since the establishment of the present system. The method of training the teachers is mainly by regular instruction throughout the year given by the supervising teachers, and by the instruction given them during a normal institute which each year one is expected to attend at some time during the school year. It is the opinion of the superintendent that the success of the school system in the Philippines must rest ultimately upon the success of the Filipino teacher, but he is also of the opinion that, in spite of the many deficiencies which he as yet must show, "the question of his competency is no longer in doubt."

In 1903 it was thought desirable to make the experiment of sending each year to the United States a number of young Filipinos for education. In this way young men of exceptional ability would become acquainted at first hand with conditions in the United States, and, presumably, on their return would be able to spread this knowledge of the American people and American institutions widely among their people. On the other hand an advantage scarcely less important would be that the American people, by coming into contact with a number of young Filipinos of the abler and better type, would gain for the Filipinos a respect and sympathy which possibly in many cases they do not now possess. Provision was made at first for the appointment of 100 students. The appropriation bill for the year 1904-1905 authorized the appointment of forty more, and the number during the latter part of 1905 in attendance in the

United States was 141. The students to be sent to America at the government expense are selected from those who have passed an examination severe enough to test their capacity for work. In many instances at first those sent were fit only for entrance into American high schools. The test is, however, gradually becoming more severe, so that eventually students going to America will be ready to enter American universities. Besides these government students, a considerable number have been sent to the United States by their families at their own expense. There is every reason to believe that this personal contact with American conditions on the part of these able young men, most of whom will become men of influence at home, will have a noteworthy and beneficial influence upon the relations between the United States and the Philippines.

The first requisite for good government in any country is peace and security for life and property. Even during the time of the military administration the United States Government, looking ahead to the days of civil administration, decided that it was wise to organize a native police force, which should not only keep order in the various municipalities, but which, organized and drilled to a considerable extent by military methods, should be able, by being employed in larger companies, to take an active part in suppressing bands of highwaymen or other organized bodies threatening the public peace. As soon as any part of the territory was turned over to the civil authorities this native constabulary under American officers took charge of the keeping of peace, doing the police work to a considerable extent in both city and country.

The enlisted strength of the constabulary in 1905 was 6967 men and 327 officers. The work of the constabulary under Brigadier General Allen, who organized it and has been its chief continuously since, has been very efficient on the whole, in spite of many drawbacks. It has given employment to many Filipinos in different parts of the Islands, who have aided in keeping the peace, and who otherwise might have been much less profitably employed. It has also reduced to a very great extent the cost of keeping peace by American soldiers or policemen, which would naturally have been much greater, the average cost of the American soldiers being nearly double that of the members of the constabulary. Furthermore, the Filipinos have had the satisfaction of feeling that they were, in a most important particular, under the control of their own people.

The control of bands of highwaymen (ladrones) is in any country such as the Philippines a very important and difficult matter. The British Government in upper Burmah has been considerably troubled for years in this respect, and the Spaniards throughout the period of their occupation of the Philippines had always difficulty in suppressing these bands. Since the American occupation the leaders of these organized bands in many instances have posed as patriots who were intending to establish a republic and to give self-government to the people. Probably in a few instances this feeling has been sincere, but the mere statement of the purpose under existing circumstances shows at once at least the lack of judgment of those so acting. The type of leadership can be gathered, in part, from some of the experiences within the last year or two in certain of the provinces of Luzon, near Manila, where the ladrones committed many depredations, until the Government finally decided that for the protection of the people prompt and severe action must be taken, and United States troops joined with the constabulary in stamping out the evil. Some of these bands of ladrones, whose leaders were giving themselves such titles, for example, as " Dictator of the Filipino Republic," taken by Sakay, and "Lieutenant-General of the Army of Liberation," used by Montalon, showed distinctly their character by their acts. Sakay was an ex-barber, with about a dozen followers, while the followers of Montalon were to a considerable extent escaped prisoners from the military prison. They stole cattle, burned houses in their search for plunder, and intimidated the law-abiding Filipinos by threats and barbarities. Friendly Filipinos who gave information to the authorities, they, in some instances, murdered; in others they cut off ears or lips and then turned their victims loose. Men who had acted as guides to the constabulary had the tendons of their legs severed. Several municipal officers who had given information in regard to them were similarly maltreated. During the last year, however, practically all of these bands have been captured, and their guns secured; so that, with the exception of one or two somewhat remote districts in Luzon, and more particularly in one or two southern provinces of the Islands and in Mindanao, where the Moros are still hostile in their attitude, the Islands may be said to be under complete control, and life and property safe. In one or two of the extreme instances, as has been said, United States troops have aided in securing control; but in most cases outside of Mindanao the credit is due to the constabulary.

The Philippine scouts, an organization of some 5000 Filipinos forming part of the American army under the army organization, have proved very efficient. Recently they have been assigned for duty under the direction of the Governor-General and have rendered excellent aid in suppressing the ladrones.

Possibly in no other way have the Filipinos of the poorer classes been able to note the difference between the Spanish and American systems of government better than in the administration of justice by the courts. As soon as it became clear that the Americans were to set up a civil government which should be thoroughgoing and, relatively speaking, permanent, the administration turned its attention to the organization of a system of courts. Since its first establishment there have been some slight changes, but none of great importance. At the head of the system stands the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands, from which an appeal lies directly to the Supreme Court of the United States. This Supreme Court consists of a chief justice and six associate justices with salaries of $10,500 for the chief justice and $10,000 for each associate justice. It is further provided that if by reason of temporary disability of any member of the Supreme Court or by reason of vacancy a quorum should not be present for business, the Governor-General may designate judges of the Court of First Instance to act temporarily as judges of the Supreme Court. This enables the court at any time to do business. From the beginning the chief justice has been a distinguished Filipino, and some of the other justices of this court are also natives of the Islands.

Next to the Supreme Court stand the Courts of First Instance, of which there shall be at least one for each organized province, with additional judges for the court in Manila, some of whom may be designated by the Governor-General to act in the provinces whenever there shall be need. These courts have original jurisdiction in important civil cases, in all matters of probate, in the appointment of trustees, receivers, etc., and in criminal cases where the penalty that may be imposed exceeds six months' imprisonment or a fine of $100. To it are appealed cases from the justices of the peace. In these courts also the Filipinos have had representation.

Throughout the Islands, justices of the peace are to be appointed in each municipality which was organized under the municipal code in a province with a Court of First Instance. These courts have the right to try all cases of misdemeanor and cases where the sentence that may be imposed does not exceed six months' imprisonment or a fine of $100, together with civil actions involving less than $300—unless for some special reason jurisdiction in these cases has been given to the Courts of First Instance. The justices of the peace, instead of having regular salaries, receive their pay in fees of three pesos for each action tried. In criminal cases the fee is paid by the municipality, but is taxed against the defendant as part of the costs if he is convicted and sentenced to pay costs. All fees are, however, turned in by the justice to the municipal treasurer, and are repaid later to the justice after due audit.

Besides the regular justices of the peace, mayors of municipalities have jurisdiction over the violation of municipal ordinances, which is in its nature an extension of the function of these courts.

The justices of the peace, all of whom are Filipinos, together with any auxiliary justices, are appointed by the Governor-General with the approval of the Commission upon recommendation of the provincial boards. Owing to the duties imposed upon the justices and the small compensation, many of those first appointed resigned, the people apparently not feeling the honor attached to the position to the same degree as do justices in England, for example. On account of the difficulty of filling these places, doubtless men who are not of the highest character have at times been appointed, and there have been numerous complaints that they have abused their authority and practiced extortion. Wherever it has been possible to prove such a case the justice has been removed, but naturally it has not been possible to reach all cases. Various methods of reform have been suggested, but it has finally been recommended by the Governor-General that the judges of the Courts of First Instance investigate and make recommendations for appointments; that they also hold sessions of instruction for the justices within their provinces, in order to fit them better for the performance of their duties; that they oversee the manner in which these duties are performed, and take prompt measures for the correction of abuses; and that there be certain changes in the form of procedure in criminal cases, which will relieve somewhat the burdens imposed on the justices. There is every reason to believe that with these changes the former abuses will largely disappear. It is to be noted that the justices of the peace are all Filipinos and, in consequence, persons not acquainted with the usual procedure of American courts, and persons, moreover, who unfortunately have been accustomed to the procedure under the

Spanish Government, where, in many cases, the animating motive of the courts did not seem to be justice, but rather the desire to secure the largest financial advantage. It is well known, and apparently undenied, that before the American occupation in most instances the poor man and the man of little social standing had practically no rights that could be enforced against one of the *principales* in any community. The judges were open to bribery, and still more, perhaps, to social influence. Now it is gradually coming to be understood that, under American judges, in the eye of the law all are equal. In many instances the rights of helpless women and children, as well as of those of the ignorant poor man, have been upheld against influential and wealthy oppressors, so that there seems to be coming among the people a knowledge of law and justice in the Anglo-Saxon sense of those expressions.

Attention has already been called to the fact that under the system of government which places the Philippines under direct control of Congress, it has been possible to establish for the Philippines a tariff system independent of that in the United States. Great care was taken in framing this act so as to fit it to the peculiar conditions of the Philippine Islands. The act was first passed by the Commision and afterward, with amendments, approved by Congress, so as to give to it the authority of congressional action. Later a special committee, consisting of the acting collector of customs for the Philippine Islands, two of his deputies, and three prominent merchants of Manila, made a special study of the system, and reported changes which seemed to them necessary to the best interests of the islands. The testimony of many witnesses was taken and a system perfected as nearly as possible. This was afterward considered fully by the Commission, and recommendations were again made to Congress, many of which were approved. In the main, the act imposes specific instead of *ad valorem* duties upon imports. The rates are, generally speaking, not so high as those in the United States. Very careful attention was paid to the revenue-producing features of the act, while the safeguarding of the interests of established industries was by no means lost sight of. Moreover, on certain articles, especially those in which the Islands have practically a monopoly, such as hemp, export duties were levied. The modifications of Congress which seem detrimental to the Islands are mentioned later.

In order, however, to bring about as close commercial relations as possible between the Islands and the United States, the Commission has felt it advisable to raise a considerable part of their revenue from internal taxes of various kinds, and in consequence they have levied internal revenue taxes, and a land tax, lately suspended for a time. In its act of 1902, Congress provided that all export duties imposed upon articles sent to the United States and consumed there should be refunded, a provision which applied principally to hemp exported to the United States, and which deprived the Islands of a very considerable revenue—$486,575.56 for the fiscal year 1905—to the benefit, doubtless, of the cordage manufacturers in the United States, but apparently a discrimination in their favor which the Filipinos had good ground for objecting to. It took away nearly half a million dollars from their revenue, but did not increase the price of their product, as had been predicted, inasmuch as the prices paid to the producer of hemp sent to the United States are the same as those paid for hemp consigned to other countries.

It seems desirable that power be given to the Commission to make reductions in the duties levied on imports into the Islands without the necessity of waiting for congressional action. The Commission has frequently made this recommendation, and there seems little reason for objecting to it. The question would be different if the Commission asked for the power to increase the rates at discretion.

The Commission has also, in order to encourage the trade between the Philippine Islands and the United States, repeatedly asked that goods sent from the Philippine Islands be admitted to the United States free of duty. The present duties upon sugar and tobacco are so heavy that the Filipino producers have practically no opportunity of sending their goods into the United States. Inasmuch as these interests have also been greatly injured by the ravages of insurrection, by losses of animals by the *rinderpest,* and in other ways, this request has seemed an urgent one. Vigorous opposition, however, has been made against this proposal by the sugar and tobacco interests in the United States, who seem needlessly to fear Philippine competition, and so far this protest has been effective. It is probable that no other single act remains to be taken by Congress which would have so good a moral effect upon the people of the Islands as to permit their sugar and tobacco to enter the United States free of duty. These conditions obtain now for Hawaii and Porto Rico, and it seems extremely desirable that the Philippines be given the same privilege.. The Commission is now advocating a provision to the effect that all goods the product of the Philippine Islands be admitted free of duty into the United States, excepting sugar and tobacco, and that on these there be levied 25 per cent. of the Dingley rates. So far, however, the opposition has proved vigorous enough to prevent this concession. At present duties are levied on all goods at 75 per cent. of the Dingley tariff rates.

As to the monetary system, at the time of the American occupation there were in common circulation in the Philippine Islands Spanish Filipino pesos, Mexican dollars, bank notes of the Spanish Filipino Bank, payable in these coins, and a small amount of fractional silver and copper coins.

Spanish and Filipino copper coins were extremely scarce. After the American occupation the need of fractional coins was met largely by the importation of subsidiary silver coins from China and of copper coins from the Straits Settlements, Borneo, and elsewhere. The standard silver coins circulated at practically their bullion value. No discrimination was made between the Spanish Filipino coins, which were strictly limited in quantity and much below the monetary needs of the Islands, and the Mexican dollars, although the Spanish-Filipino coins contained from 8 to 12 per cent. less silver to the peso than Mexican dollars.

The fluctuations in the value of the silver coins as compared with the American money brought in by our troops and government officials led to great disturbance in business, especially when, owing to the fall in the price of silver bullion, the rates of exchange went from two Mexican pesos for one American dollar up to 2.30, 2.40, and even as high as 2.70. After the American civil government had been established it seemed best to give to the Islands a system which, while meeting local needs, should also be stable in its relation to the money of the United States and of other gold-standard countries.

In consequence a new system was introduced, under which there is a Philippine peso maintained at $.50 American currency, and subsidiary and minor coins of silver, nickel, and copper, maintained as fractional parts of this peso. Naturally, during the introduction of the new peso, there was some industrial disturbance, which was greatly exaggerated by those who had been making large profits from the fluctuations of the rates of exchange between the silver currency and the gold, but the system has now become firmly established, greatly to the benefit of the business interests of the country.

The Filipino people have been inclined to be a somewhat gay and heedless people, as are those of most countries in the tropics, owing to the ease of securing the needs of existence. Moreover, on account of the fact that usurers, principally Chinese, are numerous, and that there are few means of encouraging thrift, very little in the way of the saving of money has been accomplished, although to a somewhat surprising degree (more than 80 per cent.) the native Filipinos are themselves the owners of the small farms which they occupy (peasant proprietors).

It has been thought for some years by high officials in the Islands that some means should be furnished the people for investing safely small savings where they would be easily available. A Postal Savings Bank has therefore been recommended, and lately a law for the inauguration of such a system has been passed. The general provisions of the law are as follows:

(1) The banks are divided into three classes: those of the first and second may receive deposits in the form of currency and of Postal Savings Bank stamps; banks of the third class receive deposits only in stamps. Deposits above one thousand pesos do not bear interest except in the case of charitable and benevolent institutions, for which the maximum interest-bearing deposit is two thousand pesos.

(2) Postal Savings Bank stamps are in the denominations of five, ten, and twenty centavos. Any person purchasing these stamps is furnished, free of expense, appropriate cards with spaces bearing distinctive marks and colors. As soon as these stamp cards are filled with stamps they may be deposited in any Postal Savings Bank as if they were money to the amount represented by the face value of the stamps.

Such stamps received for deposit are canceled. Until canceled they may be redeemed at face value in postage stamps. All employees of the banks and all those handling the stamps, canceled and uncanceled, are held responsible for them to the same extent as if they were insular money.

(3) Any person, six years of age or over, residing in the Philippine Islands, not under legal disability, may open an account to his own credit. Any person twenty-three years of age or over, or any person under twenty-three years of age if the head of a family,

may open an account for and make deposits to the credit of any minor or person unable to manage his own affairs. But no person may have more than one account to his credit.

(4) Interest at 2½ per cent. per annum will be allowed on all deposits. If the earnings of any fiscal year exceed the amount necessary for the payment of the interest and the cost of administration, this surplus will be set aside as a Postal Savings Bank reserve fund, which will be invested and will accumulate until it shall equal 5 per cent. of the interest-bearing deposits. Any earnings beyond this reserve are to be used for the purpose of increasing the rate of interest.

(5) All Postal Savings Bank funds are to be kept in a separate trust fund by the Insular Treasurer. The investments of these funds will be in charge of a special board composed of the Secretary of Commerce and Police, the Secretary of Finance and Justice, the Director of Posts, and the Insular Treasurer, and a business man appointed by the Governor-General. To insure safety, special limitations are placed on the nature of securities in which these funds may be invested. All deposits are free from taxation of all kinds in the Islands.

It is expected that these Postal Banks, if properly encouraged through all official channels, such as the provincial officials, municipal officials, school teachers, etc., will do much to encourage thrift among the Filipino people.

There has been great suffering in the Islands for the last three or four years, especially among the agricultural population. This distress has been due in part to the ravages of war and the resulting losses, in part to the loss of the draft animals (the *carabaos*) from the cattle plague (the *rinderpest*), and in part to a plague of locusts, which devastated the crops in many sections of the Islands; finally, also, to the natural desolation arising from the disturbed conditions after the war. These social conditions seem already decidedly improved. Partly through their own exertions, partly through favorable actions of the military and civil officials, and partly through the relief fund of $3,000,000 voted as a gift to the Filipinos by Congress, the farmers have been able to cultivate much more land, and even, in many cases, to get their farms into good condition. The chief drawback has been the lack of *carabaos;* but the *rinderpest* is now held well in check and the Commission thinks that, within a year or two, there will be a sufficient supply for all needed purposes

Through the schools, the Bureau of Agriculture, with its experiment stations, the Forestry Bureau, and otherwise, the Government has also attempted to give assistance in the form of instruction and information which might prove helpful. In spite of all the assistance, there is still great need of ready capital for the development of agriculture, and particularly for the carrying on of current work.

The usurers have found here a fertile field, and in very many cases money has been borrowed upon the security of land or of crops at exorbitant rates of interest, varying from 2 per cent. to as high as 10 per cent. per month. In order to afford relief from these conditions the Philippine Government has given very careful attention to the establishment of an agricultural bank, the business of which will be to make loans to the agriculturists in the Philippine Islands upon the security of real estate, growing crops, or other security duly authorized, so that they may the more easily buy farm implements and make such other improvements as seem essential.

It has seemed best to the Commission to recommend granting the concession to a private corporation which should be under immediate supervision of the Government, subject not merely to the law, but also to careful inspection, and even to participation in the management by government inspectors. The plan proposed provides that for a period of twenty-five years the Government shall guarantee a dividend of 4 per cent. on the par value of the bank's duly authorized cash paid up capital stock. A very careful study of agricultural bank systems in Europe, India, Australia, and more especially in Egypt, has been made for the Philippine Government by Mr. Kemmerer, the former chief of the Division of the Currency in the Philippines, and a bill was introduced into Congress last session to permit the Government to assume the guarantee recommended. So far the bill has failed of passage; but the experience of other countries along similar lines indicates that under proper safeguards the Government would be taking very little risk by such guarantee, and the presumption is that the bill will pass and the bank be established in the not distant future.

It scarcely would be advisable to attempt an enumeration of all the public work undertaken by the United States in the Philippine Islands, or by the Philippine Government itself, for the benefit of the Filipinos, but some of the most important should be enumerated.

The United States Government has established at different places in the Islands permanent camps for occupation by American troops stationed in the Islands. While these camps are, of course, intended for American soldiers, the building of the camps themselves and the constant expenditures made by the United States Government for the support of its soldiers are matters of great economic importance to trade and industry in the Philippines.

The same statement may be made with substantially equal emphasis with reference to the naval base which the Government has established, and which will bring to the Islands the benefit coming from the repair and refitting of our ships of war of various kinds, and our other governmental vessels, while the additional expenditure made for the supplying of the ships and of the sailors stationed on duty at Manila or elsewhere in the Islands is also an item of considerable economic importance.

One of the first and most noteworthy of the improvements undertaken by the Filipino Government is the improvement of the harbor of Manila. Generally speaking, in the Far East, notwithstanding the good harbors, there are very poor facilities for the loading and unloading of ships. At Batavia, in Java, the Dutch government has a well-built and well-equipped dock for this purpose. In Singapore, to a somewhat less degree, and in Yokohama similar provisions are found, but generally speaking, throughout the East ships must be loaded and unloaded by lighters, while passengers even have to be transferred from the ships to the shore by launches or rowboats.

But the Philippine Government decided to expend upon harbor improvements in Manila some $4,000,000, and less sums at two or three other important ports. Piers for the accommodation of commerce in the new harbor at Manila are already arranged for, and they should be completed within about another year. These improvements will doubtless call for the construction of a new custom house, for storage houses, and other similar improvements. When these works are completed, Manila will have the best arranged harbor in the Orient, while improvements along similar lines now under way in Iloilo and Cebú will likewise greatly facilitate shipping at these ports, both of which are very important in the commerce of the Islands.

Besides the expenditures mentioned above, the insular treasury pays out large sums each year for the coast and geodetic survey, for quarantine services, for the construction of lighthouses and light-house service. A portion of the expense of the coast and geodetic survey is borne by the Government of the United States, but all such expenditures are really for the benefit of the commerce of the world, and the Philippine Commission has suggested that all these services be paid for out of the United States treasury, and that the coast and geodetic survey service be largely increased in order that the work may be promptly done.

During the fiscal year 1905, for these three services mentioned, no less than $496,039.90 was expended, a very considerable burden for the Philippine treasury when it is considered that the benefit goes quite largely to the citizens of the United States and to foreign countries.

A noteworthy improvement of great importance to the sanitation of the capital of the Islands is the installation of a new water supply and sewerage system for the city of Manila. Congress authorized the Philippine Commission to sell bonds to the face value of $1,000,000 for this purpose. The bonds sold were 10-30 bonds, and selling at a premium which realized a profit of $95,625, they represent a net cost to the Government of approximately only 3 per cent. The bonds are exempt from all taxation by the Government of the United States or of any State or territorial division thereof, and of either the insular, provincial, or municipal governments of the Philippine Islands. By order of the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States they are also available for deposit by national banks as security for deposits of government funds. Plans for the inauguration of the new system in Manila are well under way, and when completed it should make the city practically safe in most particulars against the incursion of any of the great epidemics.

The Government has also taken steps to make Manila a creditable city from the artistic point of view. The old city was surrounded by a wall of the mediæval type, which, though of course no longer of any value as a means of defense, is still a very picturesque historic relic, surrounded as it is by a moat, and, on the side farthest from the harbor and river, by a wide stretch of unoccupied land. Under the advice of one of the most noted landscape architects of the United States and the direction of the Government engineers certain portions of the wall which are distinctively obstructive to commerce have been removed, and some of the gates which were too narrow for modern traffic have been widened; but the most important and most striking parts of the old walls have been retained in all of their picturesque beauty, while the moats now filled in and the land lying beyond, with all unhealthful and disagreeable features removed, have been been made into beautiful parks and driveways. Upon these in the future will doubtless be placed some of the more important government buildings, but most of them will remain permanently as a healthful and beautiful promenade and pleasure ground for the inhabitants of Manila. In similar fashion some wide stretches of the shallow waters of the bay are being recovered by filling in so as to give additional water-front facilities for government storehouses, wharves, etc. Some of the important streets are being widened, and the harbor itself is being greatly improved by the filling in of some rather unsightly shoals near the shore.

In a similar spirit of practical foresight the Government has been undertaking as far as possible the improvement of the road system throughout the Islands, and has begun the establishment of street railways and railway systems. As yet, although many fair roads were made by the military during their occupation of some parts of the Islands, comparatively little has been done toward the establishment of a general road system. The matter has, however, been under serious consideration, and, in certain localities, particularly in the neighborhood of the army posts, a good deal has been done. It is expected, however, to make provision for a fairly comprehensive road system in the different parts of the Islands to be carried forward by the provinces and municipalities, under intelligent direction, as fast as this can be done without too heavily burdening the Filipinos by the imposition of unusual taxes. In some instances the Government has found it possible to lend to provinces funds for the construction of some of the roads most needed to open up rich lands so that the hemp and other products may reach tide water. The Insular Government has also in such cases sometimes provided the labor and rations of prisoners to the amount of their cost in prison, and have lent without charge the tools and equipment which had been used by the Insular Government on other roads, but which for the time being were not needed. The provincial government paid the cost in excess of prison cost, that is, superintendence, the cost of maintenance in excess of that of the prison, and the purchase of materials. With care, in spite of some attempts at insubordination and, for a time, of sickness, this plan has worked admirably. A medical inspection has removed all danger from spread of disease, and care has been taken to prevent any outbreak. Similar arrangements for prisoners have been made at times with representatives of the United States Government in breaking rock for the construction of military roads at the army outposts and elsewhere.

After overcoming the very greatest engineering obstacles, as well as serious difficulties in the securing of proper labor, the road from the terminus of the railway at Dagupan to Baguio was completed in 1905. Baguio is the capital of the province of Benguet, and is the place which has been selected by the Government for a hospital and for a summer residence for many of the government officials at the time when the heat in Manila is such that it is troublesome for Americans to remain there engaged in taxing labor. The situation is said to be admirable for the purpose, and has been used ever since the American occupation—as, indeed, had been planned by the Spaniards—as a place for recuperation for invalids and for those needing temporary rest. The total cost of the road has been high, something over $73,000 a mile, but the road had of necessity to be carried through several very difficult mountain sections, which naturally increased the cost very decidedly. It is expected that, in the not distant future, the reservation will be developed in such a way as to make it worthy of a summer capital for the Islands, and that the change from Manila to this mountainous region for a period of two or three months during the year will be so beneficial as to increase very decidedly the efficiency of the officials upon whom rest the greatest responsibilities. The question has often been raised whether the Government has been justified in incurring so great expense to provide a "summer capital" and a place for recuperation. The final answer would seem to depend upon the view one takes of the necessity of governing the Philippines by capable Americans; but possibly, while the burdens of a difficult beginning are resting heavily on the country, this work might have been postponed. Doubtless the expense has been far greater than the first estimates, owing to the difficulty of securing trustworthy data for those estimates.

There has been something of an extension of the short railway system now in the Islands, but plans have also been made for the opening up of a considerable part of the Islands which are sufficiently well settled to justify the building of a somewhat extensive general system. Government engineers have suggested the outline of this system, and during the year 1905 plans were prepared and advertisements issued in Manila and Washington for the construction of something more than eleven thousand miles of railway. Franchises were afterward granted to one company for building some 295 miles of railroads in the islands of Negros, Cebú, and Panay, and to another for some 430 miles in Luzon. Of course, the exact location must be determined by the survey of the railway engineers, which has already been begun for the first lines mentioned. The railroads in all cases will be so planned as to reach deep water at a place where there is a protected harbor. According to the plans already drawn, when they are finished 64 per cent. will be in the great Island of Luzon, and 36 per cent. in the Visayan Islands. The Island of Mindanao has not yet been included in the plans because of its sparse population and also because it has not yet developed its river transportation facilities; moreover the inhabitants of the Island are not enough accustomed to civilized life and American control to make it profitable as yet to take up such a plan. It seems likely, however, that this can be done before many years have passed. Under the plans proposed, the railroads will be built by private corporations and the 4 per cent. interest on the bonds will be guaranteed by the Philippine Government for a period of thirty years for some of the lines. It seems probable that the building of these railroads will do very much toward developing the industrial resources of the Islands, and it is likely that by the time these are completed others will be enough in demand so that there will be little if any risk in building them without a government guarantee. Indeed, the government guarantee is not likely to be called for in the present instance, if the estimates of the engineers are sound.

The city of Manila has been already provided with a fairly comprehensive and thoroughly efficient system of electric street railways constructed and operated by an American company. Until the completion of this road there had been the greatest difficulty in going from one section to another of this really great city; and for persons who had to pass frequently from one part to another it was necessary to keep a carriage. Practically all of the government officials of the higher class found it very desirable if not essential to live at some distance from their offices, and the cost of keeping horses was such as to consume a considerable portion of their salaries. The completion of the street railway systems will, beyond any doubt, lessen the somewhat exorbitant rents which it has been necessary to pay heretofore, and will encourage the building up of much more healthful and comfortable dwellings in some of the suburbs.

It is interesting and important to note that as the various enterprises in the direction of public works are taken up from year to year and the demand for labor increases, the native Filipinos seem to be acquiring steadily, under the supervision of tactful superintendents, habits of diligence, skill, and strength better than was at first anticipated. Of course, in building some of the roads and in some of the other engineering enterprises, it was very difficult for a considerable length of time to secure labor that was at all satisfactory. Even yet the difficulty has by no means been overcome, but a very marked improvement is noticeable, and it seems at the present time that the Filipinos will develop into fairly satisfactory laborers for all kinds of both unskilled and skilled labor.

Attention has already been called to various lines of improvement in connection with public work. It is not advisable to go into further detail, but one may note that careful investigation has been made for the improvement of the rivers and for their control in times of flood, for the improvement of harbors in the more important places throughout the Islands, for the building of some canals which will serve the purpose of transportation, and for engineering works in many different places.

On account of the danger of epidemics, special attention has been given to the question of the water supply, and in a number of instances artesian wells have been provided where it was not possible to get a satisfactory supply otherwise.

From the beginning of the American occupation careful attention has been given to the preservation and control of forests. At the time of the St. Louis Exposition there was a noteworthy exhibit of Philippine forest products which received several premiums and medals. The Government owns the largest part of the forests of the Islands, and although there have been many difficulties to overcome, it has been the purpose to manage them with reference to securing a reasonable use of the timber while preserving the forests themselves. The plan generally followed is to give a license to private individuals to cut off a certain amount of timber in the different localities. The timber must be cut under special laws laid down and enforced by the forestry service so as to protect the forests and at the same time secure a considerable revenue. This revenue amounted to $346,015.69 for the fiscal year 1905.

In addition to the administration of the forests, there has been established a timber-testing laboratory in order to learn the qualities of the various kinds of timber for commercial use. Besides this, various surveys of the forests in different parts of the Islands have been made in order to enable the Government to know something of the extent and quality of its products. Also efforts have been made to establish certain stations where nurseries for the most valuable trees could be maintained and the equipment made ready for scientific forest administration.

For the development of the Philippines in the future very much depends upon the principle of government followed and the extent to which the individual Filipinos will show themselves capable of self-government; so that it seems important to note as briefly as may be the existing situation in that regard, and also very briefly the characteristics of the people as they have been judged by those best fitted by training and observation to make such a judgment. In Chapter XVIII. a bare outline of the government was given. We may, perhaps, supplement that in order to show more completely the present conditions.

Attention has been called to the fact that the Philippine Commission consists of the Governor-General, an American, four American commissioners and three Filipino commissioners, all appointed by the President of the United States. The heads of the various executive departments are the American commissioners, the Filipino representatives of the Commission not having charge of administrative departments. The Americans have thus a majority in the Commission for the passage of legislative acts. It should not be supposed, however, that there is any conflict of interests which appears in the meetings. It is the universal testimony of those who have had any knowledge of the way in which measures are discussed and voted upon in the Commission that without exception all the members of the Commission keep primarily in mind the instructions of the home government that the interests of the Filipino people are to be kept in the foreground. In the discussions the Filipino members frequently take an active part, and on questions where their special knowledge of the people and their prejudices would give their opinions particular value, their opinions are given great weight.

Furthermore, it has been the policy of the Commission from the beginning to afford to the people the opportunity of discussing the most important measures before they are finally passed. After a bill has been read and considered in executive session by the Commission, it is printed in Spanish and English and furnished for publication in the daily newspapers of Manila, together with an announcement of the day when the bill will be discussed in open session. At such session the bill is read, and any person present desiring to be heard upon it, if he has made application for such permission, may speak and criticise the proposed measure as he desires. The members of the Commission themselves take part in the discussions in the way of answering objections, asking questions, making suggestions, etc. The bill, thus, is not put upon its final passage until after the people have had an opportunity of discussing the measure in person, as well as through their representatives. Of course, it is neither practicable nor desirable that the less important routine measures be so discussed; but this plan has been followed from the beginning with reference to practically all the important measures, especially those having a political bearing or those involving important industrial interests.

In the establishment of the provincial governments the Commission similarly, before putting the organization act into effect, visited the provinces concerned, and heard the opinions of the people themselves.

Besides this, various measures have been taken to find out the opinions of the people and to enable them, even in this indirect way, to take from the beginning an active part in the government, and by these various experiences the Commission has been able to judge somewhat the capacity for such work possessed by a good many influential Filipinos.

To speak frankly, on the authority of various people not connected with the Commission who have listened to the public discussions, the type of argument of the educated Filipinos on such measures is not such as to convince the conservative man that they have a very high capacity for self-government. Orators of skill in appealing to feeling, many of them, doubtless, are; but they often do not seem to see the bearings of public measures in their true proportions, and the suggestions which they make are frequently entirely impracticable. Moreover, as is well known, in a popular government the spirit of concession must be encouraged; if one cannot get all that he wishes, he should be ready to satisfy himself with taking cheerfully such measures as are practical and with waiting for further developments and experience before his desires are all gratified. One must also be tolerant of opposition and ready to see all sides of a question. This spirit of patient concession so characteristic of a successful self-governing people, such as the English, the Canadians, the Americans, is not apparent in large measure among the Filipinos.

In the Supreme Court also, as has been before suggested, three out of the seven members, including the chief justice, are native Filipinos. They also have a strong representation in the Courts of First Instance, while the justices of the peace are all Filipinos.

Moreover, provided conditions of peace and good order continue in the Islands, as is to be expected, the Commission, under the direction of the President, will call a general election for the choice of delegates to the popular Assembly of the people of the Philippine Islands on March 27, 1907. In this Assembly the Moros, not yet pacified, and other non-Christian tribes, will not be represented. This Assembly, consisting of from fifty to one hundred members, will be apportioned as nearly as is practicable according to population, but each of the seventeen Christianized provinces will have at least one member. The qualifications of electors will be the same as is now provided for municipal elections. The members will hold office for two years. The Legislature, of which this Assembly is to constitute a lower house, the upper house to consist of the present Commission, will hold annual sessions, and extra sessions may be called by the Governor-General. The Assembly will choose its speaker and other officers, determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two-thirds expel a member. So far as ordinary legislative power is concerned, it is coördinate with that of the Commission. In case, however, there should be a failure to pass an appropriation bill necessary for the conducting of the government, provision is made that an amount necessary for the support of the government, equal to the sums appropriated in the last appropriation bills for such purposes, shall be deemed to be appropriated, and the treasurer of the Islands shall act accordingly.

It cannot be denied that the opening of this Assembly is awaited with serious concern by many Americans familiar with the conditions in the Islands. Much debate, much oratory is expected, and there is much doubt as to the conservative wisdom of the Assembly in its actions. Its establishment will mark a most important step toward self-government. With a large amount of constructive legislation already on the statute books, and with the experienced Commission as an upper house, there seems reason to believe that the experiment will, on the whole, possibly after some delay, prove a success.

In the constitution of the Assembly provision is also made for the election, by the two houses of the Legislature acting separately, of two representatives to the United States. These will not be members of Congress, but will represent the island Government before the United States executive departments, and may be consulted generally by United States officials on all matters concerning the Philippines.

Speaking generally, in the provincial government the governor is chosen by a college made up of the members of the municipal councils in the province. The majority of those present entitled to vote is required for election, and the ballot is secret. The result of the election is certified to the Governor-General, who confirms it, unless he finds that it was conducted unfairly, that the person chosen is ineligible, or that his loyalty is doubtful If the Governor-General refuses to confirm an election on these grounds a new one may be held. If for a similar reason this second election cannot be confirmed, the Governor-General may appoint the provincial governor with the advice and consent of the Commission.

Acting with the governor of the province is a provincial board, consisting of the provincial treasurer, and, until lately, of the supervisor of the province, both of whom were appointed by the Governor-General with the consent of the Commission. Generally speaking, heretofore, those two officials have been Americans; the elected governor has generally been a Filipino. In several instances it has been found advisable to consolidate the offices of supervisor and treasurer, thus effecting a saving. In those cases the district superintendent of schools has been added to the provincial board. The provincial secretary and the *fiscal* (prosecuting attorney), usually Filipinos, are also important provincial officials, but not members of the provincial board.

The governor is expected to take an active part in the work of his province. He is to see that the laws are executed, and that the officers perform their duties. He must attend the Court of First Instance, and is the officer to execute its orders. He controls the local constabulary and police of the municipalities under certain general restrictions. He is expected to visit every municipality at least every six months, to hear complaints against officials, and to supervise their work; he may even, for sufficient reason, suspend any official, although such an act he must immediately report to the Commission. He also employs the deputies or assistants necessary for the performance of his duties, and fixes their salaries, subject, however, to the provincial board, and eventually to the insular treasurer.

The provincial treasurer and supervisor, appointive officers, have also important duties. They are both under the rigid supervision of the central government, and, of course, the governor also is ultimately under the control of the Commission, through its power of removal in case of emergency. Some of the less civilized provinces, together with the Moro provinces, have governments in which there is little opportunity for the exercise of self-government on the part of the people, all of the officials, including the governor, being appointive. It is generally considered that this form of provincial government is merely a modification of the general act to meet local conditions, and that as the inhabitants become more enlightened or more orderly a greater degree of self-government will be granted to them until they are given a government substantially the same as that of the more developed provinces.

Popular government appears most clearly in connection with the government of municipalities. The size of the municipality determines the number of members in the councils, which varies from eight to eighteen. Both the mayors (*presidente*) of the municipalities and the members of the councils are elective. To hold any of these offices the person must be a duly qualified voter, not less than twenty-six years of age, who has had a local residence in the municipality for at least one year, and who is able to read and write either the Spanish or English language or the local native language. Soldiers in active service and people receiving salaries from either provincial or other governmental funds, and contractors for public works are excluded from holding public office.

The mayor has many responsibilities besides those which usually fall to a chief executive. He presides over the municipal council, with a casting vote; he must approve of the ordinances before they become effective, although his veto may be overruled by a two-thirds vote of the council. He appoints, with the approval of the council, all non-elective officers and employees, with the exception of the treasurer; and he may suspend for cause any of these officers for ten days, or even dismiss them with the consent of the council. In certain minor cases, involving the breaking of the municipal ordinances, he acts as magistrate. and he also has the general oversight of elections.

He likewise makes an annual report setting forth the work of his office and making recommendations. This report is sent to the governor of the province. It is interesting to note that the mayor of the municipality is authorized to use as the symbol of his office "a cylindrical cane with a gold head, gold ferule, and silver cord and tassel."

The treasurer of the municipality is appointed by the provincial treasurer, with the approval of the provincial board.

The members of the council serve without pay, but the mayor, secretary, and treasurer are paid small salaries, to be fixed by the council with a maximum limit fixed by law, 1200 pesos in the case of the mayor for the most important municipalities.

The members of the municipal councils are elected on a general ticket. The majority constitute a quorum; the majority vote of all members is required for the passage of any ordinance. The duties of the council, which are similar to those of municipal councils elsewhere, are very numerous.

The franchise in the municipalities is of especial importance, because this covers also the right to vote for members of the Insular Assembly. The suffrage is granted to every male person of twenty-three years of age, legally resident in the municipality for six months, provided: (1) that he held, prior to August 13, 1898 (the date of the capture of Manila by the Americans), the office of municipal captain, gobernadorcillo (mayor), alcalde (provincial governor), lieutenant, cabeza de Barangay (tax collector), or member of any ayuntamiento (council); (2) that he owns real estate to the value of 500 pesos, or pays no less than 30 pesos annually in taxes, or (3) that he is able to speak, read and write English or Spanish. Of course, there are the usual exceptions, of those who are not faithful in their allegiance to the United States, of all criminals of certain classes, of the insane, and, finally, of any person who is delinquent in the payment of public taxes assessed after August 13, 1898. This last provision, however, applies only during continuance of the period of non-payment.

We need not go into the details of the work of the municipal council, of the methods of holding elections, or any similar matters. It is sufficient to say that the attempt has been made to take the best features of such laws in the United States so far as they may be applied to the Filipinos.

Besides the measures mentioned, which provide for a noteworthy degree of self-government in the Philippines, it should be borne in mind that appointments to office under the government are made under a rigid system of civil service examinations. Moreover, this civil service system has been lived up to faithfully and well.

The statement made by President McKinley that so far as possible the Filipinos should be given a share in the administration of their government, wherever this could be done without crippling the service, has been carefully lived up to, with the result that a constantly increasing proportion of the offices are filled by Filipinos. The yearly report of the Governor-General calls attention to the fact that 4,185 out of 8,232 applicants examined by the board during the fiscal year 1905 took examinations in English, and the remainder in Spanish. Of the applicants attending the examinations in English, 2,917, or 70 per cent., were Filipinos, while of the 2,442 taking English examinations in 1904 only 44 per cent. were Filipinos.

This shows not merely the rapid spread of English among the Filipinos, but still further their confidence that the Commission has been in earnest in its desire to fill the offices, so far as is practicable, with Filipinos. "On January 1, 1904, the ratio of Americans to Filipinos was only slightly in favor of the latter, but on January 1, 1905, it was approximately three Americans to four Filipinos. The proportion in favor of the latter is constantly increasing, and it is believed that by the end of the calendar year [1905] the ratio will be about one to two."

From the time that the Philippines became a possession of the United States, the government has sought to improve conditions and give all advantages for which the people are prepared.

There are four executive departments—Interior, Finance and Justice, Commerce and Police, and Public Instruction. Local governments have been established in about 650 towns. By Act of February 15, 1911, the members of the Philippine Assembly will hold office until October 16, 1916, their successors to be chosen quadrennially thereafter.

Progress in the Philippines was soon manifest along all lines.

A summer capital was established at Bagino, about 120 miles north of Manila, and here a veritable new city is being built. In Manila a complete sewerage system and good water supply were installed in 1911, and the improvement of health conditions has been marked. Great progress has been made in education. The number of schools in 1912 were 38 high, 283 intermediate, and 3,364 primary, with 664 American and 7,696 Filipino teachers. The Philippine Constabulary was distributed throughout the Archipelago in 119 stations, and the force consists of 303 officers and 4,169 men. By 1913 the Philippines had in operation 572 post-offices (free delivery in 115 municipalities), 414 postal savings banks and an inter-island parcel-post system. The political situation had improved steadily, although the subject of Philippine independence had been at all times in the foreground. The Secretary of War reported in November, 1910, that the people were not yet prepared for self-government and that the better, if not the greater, class of citizens did not desire it then. In the United States House of Representatives, however, Mr. W. A. Jones, Democrat, introduced a bill on March 20, 1912, providing for the independence of the Philippines in 1921. The Democratic Party, which came into executive power on March 4, 1913, was pledged to a platform that would give the Philippines independence as soon as a stable government could be established.

Some friction occurred in 1913 between partisans of Philippine liberty and those against self-government. This arose over the accusation of lack of civilization on the part of certain non-Christian tribes, and the using of this for a text in the argument against the ability of all Filipinos for self-government.

Some opposition also arose on the question of export duty on hemp. The Philippine Commission as constituted May, 1913, were W. Cameron Forbes, President and Governor-General; Newton W. Gilbert, Vice-Governor; Dean C. Worcester, José R. de Luzuriaga, Gregorio Araneta, Rafael Palma, Juan Sumulong, Frank A. Branagan, and Frank W. Carpenter, Executive Secretary.

October 6, 1913, as a policy of the new Wilson administration, a new Philippine Commission was organized as follows: Governor-General and President of the Commission, Francis Burton Harrison; Vice-Governor, Henderson S. Martin; Secretary of the Interior, Wilfred T. Denison; Secretary of Commerce and Police, Clinton L. Riggs; Secretary of Finance and Justice, Victoriano

Mapa; members without portfolios, Jaime C. de Veyra, Rafael Palma, Vicente Ilustre and Vicente Singson.

The year 1914 was one of progress and there were no disturbances of public order. The progress made in the Moro provinces was notable. Mr. F. W. Carpenter succeeded General Pershing as Governor.

The Philippine Assembly passed a resolution thanking the United States House of Representatives for passing the Jones Bill, eventually giving independence to the Philippine Islands.

The year 1914 was a most prosperous one as revealed by the imports and exports. The imports for the year ending June 30, 1914, amounted to $56,011,680, and the exports were $31,238,148.

Francis Burton Harrison was sent as Governor-General to the Philippines in October, 1913, and at once began a policy of turning over as much as possible of the administration of the Islands to the Filipinos. The Filipinos were given a majority of members on the Philippine Commission and with control of the Upper and Lower House, the Filipinos were soon practically in command of the political administration. Wholesale discharge of American employees followed. In 1913 there were in the Philippine Civil Service 2,623 Americans which number by 1920 had been reduced to 760. The number of Filipino employees in the same period had increased from 6,363 to 12,947. By December, 1923, American employees had dropped to 562 and Filipino employees had increased to 14,167.

Upon the inauguration of President Harding in 1921, a new Governor-General of the Philippines was appointed who was a strong opponent to immediate independence for the Islands. The new Governor-General, Major-General Leonard Wood, at the very outset of his administration found himself confronted with political opposition from the strong native party demanding independence. W. Cameron Forbes, who had formerly been Governor-General of the Philippines, was appointed a special commission to investigate conditions in the Philippines. His report, together with that of Governor-General Wood, recommended that the United States should not allow a situation to be established in the Philippines whereby the United States would be left in a position of responsibility without authority, such as would be created should independence be given to the Islands. The two dominant parties in Philippine politics, the Collectivista or Coalition Party, and the

Democratic Party carried on from 1921 to 1924 an aggressive campaign in favor of independence for the Islands, stubbornly resisting every effort of the Governor-General to bring about a workable plan for administration. The Collectivista refused absolutely to coöperate with General Wood in the work of the legislation. The Philippine Independence Commission in 1923 appointed the Speaker of the Philippine House of Representatives a special commissioner to lay before the United States Congress a memorial denouncing the Administration of the Governor-General and demanding that independence be at once granted the Islands. President Coolidge, in March, 1924, in answer to a petition presented him by the Philippine special commissioner, declared that although wonderful advances had been made by the Philippines within the last twenty-five years yet the Filipino people are not yet equipped by experience or in wealth to undertake the burdens that would be imposed upon the Islands by political independence. He also stated that the United States Government had full confidence in the ability and fairness of Governor-General Wood and that the official acts of the Governor-General were within the scope of his proper and constitutional authority. One of the features of Philippine history during 1925 and 1926 was the sending of various independent missions to the United States to petition Congress to enact measures looking to final independence for the Islands. None of the bills favoring such action were passed by Congress. On April 2, 1926, President Coolidge appointed Carmi A. Thompson as special commissioner to make a survey of economic and other internal conditions in the Philippines. The appointment was made without conferring with the War Department. The President sent Mr. Thompson as his personal representative to furnish the President with all data available to be used as basis for legislation to improve conditions in the Islands. Mr. Thompson arrived at Manila on July 9, 1926, and made an extensive tour. He later made an exhaustive report on the Islands to President Coolidge who submitted it to Congress on December 22. The report stated that the fundamental need in the Philippines was the solution of the political problem in such a way as to assure the existence for a considerable period of time of a government which would be reasonably favorable to economic development and financial investment and which would inspire confidence on the part of investors. Complete independence was stated to be impossible now and for a long time to come for the reasons that the Philippines lacked financial resources necessary to maintain an independent Government; because of the lack of a common language which gives the homogeneity and solidarity necessary to a strong democratic nation; the bitter religious and other differences between Mohammedan Moros and Christian Filipinos might lead to civil strife; from the standpoint of American commercial interests in the Far East it would be unwise to relinquish control of the Philippines at the present time; abandonment of the Philippines might complicate international relations in the Orient; granting of independence would end free trade relations between the Philippines and the United States, which would bring about economic disaster to the Islands. The report, while upholding the policies of Governor-General Wood, recommended a more purely civil administration for the Islands as against the present military one functioning through the War Department. The report further recommended that the United States Government establish an independent department for the administration of the Philippine Islands and other over-sea territory.

One of the most important steps in the Philippine administration was the abolition on November 9, 1926, of the Board of Control, which had a stranglehold on all the Government companies including the National Coal Company and the National Bank. The Supreme Court of the Philippines upheld the action of the Governor-General in 1927.

When Governor-General Wood assumed office in 1921, the cash surplus fund was overdrawn 13,000,000 pesos. The 1927 statement shows a surplus of 22,000,000 pesos. In the field of public and animal health the betterment is equally impressive. Smallpox and rinderpest have almost been eradicated, cholera stamped out and leprosy halted with every prospect of its being confined fatally to a very small percentage of those suffering from the dread disease. It has been proven that when leprosy is treated in its first stages absolute cure can be made and patients discharged to resume their place once more among their fellows. Malaria and typhoid are also being reduced, the Rockefeller Foundation giving material aid in malaria control.

Governor-General Wood returned to the United States in July, 1927, and after tendering his report to President Coolidge of the administration of the Philippines for the fiscal year of 1927, it was officially announced that the President would uphold him in his policies. The President also made known that Major-General Wood would return to the Philippines and reassume his duties as Governor-General at the expiration of his leave of absence. General Wood underwent a major surgical operation in August from which he failed to revive, dying on August 7. He was buried with full military honors at the National Cemetery at Arlington on August 9. His administration of the Philippines was marked by a general maintenance of good order, improved conditions in industry and trade, the spread of education and public works and a stable development of insular finances.

A new commission from the Philippine Islands again went to Washington in November, 1927. This consisted of Manuel Quezon, President of the Philippine Senate, and Sergio Osmena, presiding officer of the Philippine House of Representatives. Its object was to aid in the advancement of independence for the Islands and to obtain a definite understanding as to the policies President Coolidge would advocate as to future administration of the Islands. President Coolidge received them on November 3 and it was announced that the subject of independence was not taken up. In December, Henry L. Stimson was appointed Governor-General of the Islands to succeed the late General Wood, whose vigorous administration had sometimes aroused antagonism.

In the general elections of June 5, 1928, the Nationalist Party, advocating ultimate independence, but present coöperation with the American Government, was victorious. On the opening of the Legislature on July 16, Manuel Quezon was reëlected President of the Senate and Manuel Roxas Speaker of the House of Representatives. Addressing the Legislature, Governor-General Stinson urged that measures be taken to invite large investment of American capital in the Islands, especially by revision of the land laws and the laws concerning corporations. Various steps were taken during the summer toward securing effective coöperation of the Legislature and the Governor-General's office, last of which was the reëstablishment of a Council of State, the old Council having been abolished by Governor-General Wood in 1923, when he found it impossible to work with certain Philippine leaders. Governor-General Stinson's decree, dated August 30, 1928, is as follows:

"A Council of State is hereby created to advise the Governor-General on such matters of public policy as he may from time to time lay before it. He shall be the presiding officer of such Council of State, and it shall consist of such persons as from time to time may be appointed and summoned by him.

"Until otherwise ordered by him, it shall consist of the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the majority floor leader of the Senate, the majority floor leader of the House of Representatives, and the heads of the six executive departments.

"HENRY L. STINSON,
"Governor-General."

In the United States, the Republican Party, victorious in the Presidential elections of November 6, 1928, had inserted no plank looking toward Philippine independence in its platform.

Chapter XX

EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY OUTLOOK

THE main deduction to be drawn from the events which have been sketched out is obvious. For the European politician the preceding history, in so far as it concerns the subjection of the new European nations to the old, is the history of a long and unbroken series of failures. All the military force and statesmanship of the Old World combined have failed to keep up its hold on the New. Feudal grants, military garrisons, church establishments, mercantile companies, acts of navigation and colonial codes—every device of the politician in every age, have broken down alike. Colonial history is, in this respect, distinguished in a marked manner from Indian history. Europeans can rule the East, whether for their own advantage, as the Dutch formerly did, or for the advantage of the Eastern people, as the English do; and can maintain political dominion over the backward races the world over; they cannot rule their own descendants, save by granting them self-government. In the attempt to keep up a real subordination of the new to the old Europe, the subtlest intellects have been baffled; and the attempt has been finally abandoned. To the European historian the preceding history is more satisfactory. It is no history of failures; it is a history of grand and extraordinary successes. The field of events which are interesting to him has been suddenly enlarged; he escapes from a confined space to one which seems to have no limit; instead of the narrow Asiatic peninsula, he finds himself dealing with an European world which encircles the globe. He sees that western Europe has laid a firm grasp on the East, and has in the West spread the most perfect social developments in the world more or less over a space which may be called twenty or thirty times as great as itself. In both of these vast fields two national types, traceable in a clear course through ages of stagnation and confinement, suddenly found themselves contending for the first place in the race, and ultimately for mastery. The victory of the Teutonic type, in the nationalities of England and Holland, was soon apparent. The real Indies, the great prize which Columbus and Gama toiled to secure, fell ultimately, in unequal proportions, into the hands of the English and Dutch, and in their hands it still remains. Like the real Indies, the New World which has been formed by settlements and conquests fell at first mainly into the hands of the Latin races. The Teutonic races wrested it piecemeal from them. The English made the beginning on the American shore of new political communities as free as their own; and the banner of liberty, once raised, drew all other nations unto it in the course of time. This wresting of America out of the hands of the Latin governments, commenced by actual seizure and occupation, was completed by the effect of example. By a series of changes, sometimes coming slowly, but more often in swift succession, colonies have disappeared, and a vast family of new nations has been formed and organized. The history of these nations, early as is the stage in which it even now stands, exhibits a great variety. Sometimes it has been a history of great and deep internal conflicts, sometimes of vague and shifting external combinations: sometimes it has been affected by great moral principles, long disregarded, and at length established after bloodshed and anarchy; it has reflected the worst social evils of the old Europe, yet we find it on the whole yielding new growths from the old germs, which prove themselves to have been fed from a soil of virgin strength, and from an air purged, or purging itself, of the old moral malaria. The historical student will find here in abundance the authentic traits of types which he has been accustomed to realize only in imagination. He can study the patriot hero, and see how he develops into the military tyrant; watch the painful growth of infant communities; see how the satisfaction of one social want generates another; how climate acts upon the human type, and what are the limits of its action; how sometimes a people slowly disabuse themselves of a false idea, and how at other times they start up and cast it suddenly from them; how times wait for men, and men for times; how the heart of man, and the greater heart of bodies of men, is the same in all ages, bold, subtle, variable, and inscrutable to the wisest. The history of new Europe, moreover, stands alone in being a history which invites the inquirer with a complete array of materials. Here is little or no place for conjecture; all that is wanted may be found, for new Europe has grown up since the invention of the printing press.

In the eyes of the political philosopher this history is reducible to the successive attempted solutions of two remarkable problems. The old Europe interrogated the new, with the view of solving the problem How to organize the colony; the new Europe has replied to the old Europe by organizing the republic, and by showing the old Europe how to do it also. In the organization of the colony, that is, the formation of a new European community essentially contributory and subordinate to the mother country, the Old World failed suddenly and completely. In the organization of the Republic, for various reasons, the Old World had not been hitherto very successful, and its successes had only been achieved upon a small scale; the New World has shown how the organization of the republic may be secured by a people spreading over a million of square miles. This has been done by means of the federation. The federation, like the colony, is an idea derived from the Old World. The Old World knew the federation and the colony on a small scale; the New World has taught us to know them both on a great scale. The New World will perhaps go far beyond this, and teach the Old World not only how to organize the colony, but how to apply the federation to old states. The nations of the Old World are being forced more and more together, sometimes by necessities from within, sometimes by pressure from without. The unions in Germany and Italy achieved in the latter part of the nineteenth century may be looked upon as proceeding from the spirit of federation in a modified form, and we may expect yet more exemplifications of the same principle on the soil of the old Europe. Some have even predicted that a federation of nations of western Europe, in spite of all differences of language and manners, will be forced on by the increased aggressiveness of eastern Europe; a federation of peoples inspired by the modern spirit of commerce and industry against those which are yet filled with the mediæval lust of conquest. Without trespassing on the uncertain, we may safely say that the New World has greatly contributed to the spread of that principle of nationality on which the unions of Italy and Germany have been founded. The new Europe has also contributed much to the advancement of the science of political economy, to which the attention of thinking people in the Old World began to be drawn just when the New World was rising in importance. People saw clearly going on before their very eyes such processes as the growth of population and wealth, the exchange of colonial and European products, the export of capital and of labor; and the observation of these things had a great deal to do with the opinions which were put forth by Adam Smith and Jean Baptiste Say, the founders of the science of political economy.

To the observer the new Europe appears like a land of promise, but its promise is not of hope unmixed. Most of the retarding and pernicious principles which hamper the Old World have been transplanted to the New, and they have there coalesced with ill principles of native growth. In Latin America the great masses of Indian, negro, and mixed races adapt themselves only very slowly to European notions of industry, organization, and the proper direction of public spirit. The New World must therefore look for its mainstay to the European races. But here, again, the contributions which the old Europe has long been making, out of its own numbers, to the peopling of the new have been mostly from the elements which were least worth keeping; and the statesmen of the New World have enough to do in preventing the population which is ever streaming to their shores from lowering their civilization. The real strength of the new Europe is not in immigration from the old, but in the multiplication of its own sons. In only one or two of the nations of new Europe, in the older portions of the United States and in Chile, has it experienced the tension and force which are gained by the recoil of an expanding population. Elsewhere, the population born in the New World is still spreading on its native soil by an important process, which may be called internal colonization. It is mainly to this process, not to immigration, that the great growth of the United States is due; and this process is equally the mainspring of extension in Canada, the Australias, and South Africa. The United States show us clearly the model on which the development of the three lesser groups of British Colonies is almost certain to proceed. Spanish and Portuguese America are striving for the same ideal with a success that varies according to circumstances. Many observers have noticed what they think to be signs of failure in the struggle. They think that the Latin colonies are fast relapsing into weakness and decay, and will at length be practically abandoned to the native races, or at least to a mixture in which the native races greatly predominate. But when we consider how slow all progress has been in the Latin colonies, we shall hardly think it wise to come to any conclusion of this kind. Colonial history is full of surprises, and there seems to be no reason why the whole of Latin America may not one day attain the degree of progress which is so remarkable in the republics of Chile and Mexico.

Small as is the portion of the history of new Europe which has as yet been unrolled to our view, it enables us to correct a great error which prevailed at the time when historians, following the notions of those who had supposed that the English would conquer all the Spanish colonies, augured a vast antagonism between the English civilization of North America and the Latin civilization of South America; an antagonism of Protestanism and tolerance on the one hand with Catholicism and intolerance on the other; of a republican nation with one inveterately monarchical; of stability with anarchy. South America was to engage in a grand struggle with the North; the North was to conquer it, and then to fall to pieces by its own weight. Such was the belief of men as acute as Hegel and Humboldt. These auguries have been proved erroneous. North America has conquered South America, but not by arms. The leaven of North America has thoroughly entered into the best and greatest part of South America; and it will in time certainly leaven the whole lump. Year by year the Spanish and Portuguese nations in the south are getting accustomed to consider themselves "Americans." The belief gains strength among them continually that they ought to be as far ahead of Europe as Europe is ahead of Asia. America has thus become a great social idea, if not a political one, implying a unity, a physical grandeur, and a progress which is supposed to be peculiar to the western continent. Australia and South Africa, especially the former, have shown traces of a similar feeling on a different scale; and we may say of the whole of new Europe that it is becoming a great social and political unity, reflecting with increased splendor all that is really bright and good in the old. This has been done by means of English colonial ideas. Of the many types of colonial life the English seems to have been for some time extinguishing all the others on the physiological principle of the survival of the fittest; and this extends even to the English language. Throughout South America, the chief part of the new Europe where English is not the native tongue of the colonist, English is becoming spoken more and more: and we may safely measure the progress of a "Latin" colonial community, as we may that of an Asiatic community, by the extent to which the English language is used.

By means of the English colonies English has superseded French as the *lingua franca* or common tongue of the world.

New Europe has left Asia much further behind it than old Europe has done. The old Europe clings with great tenacity to some Asiatic ideas. In politics, it clings to the kingdom and the empire; but in new Europe those old things have passed or are fast passing away. Here we find for the first time in history the organization of commonwealths on a scale commensurate to first-rate national existence. In society, the old Europe clings to caste. This feeling grows weaker as we travel westward in old Europe itself, and is being destroyed in new Europe by the contact of races. In the New World the bonds of race are suddenly dissolved, and man becomes a social unity, capable of combinations of a new kind and on a new scale. The religious ideas of the new and the old Europe present an equally marked diversity. The Old World was intolerant, the New World is tolerant. New Europe, following Holland and England, has happily mingled the spirit of liberty with that of religion. The law of the New World is simpler and more liberal; and in this matter the old Europe has been forced for very shame to imitate it. Even in England most of the legal and political reforms which have been adopted have been first tried in the new Europe. America is the only part of the world where Mohammedanism has not penetrated. Yet the New World has suffered from the taint of both slavery and polygamy, the two great Asiatic social evils which the Mohammedan law fosters and protects. But slavery is everywhere being rooted out, and the polygamy of the Mormon community in the United States bids fair to be a transitory phenomenon.

We have just said that the best nations of the New World tend to become an abstraction of the soundest elements in the old. As years go on, the old Europe cannot but conform itself more and more to the model of this abstraction of its own best elements realized on a large scale; and the old Europe thus may be said morally to become the satellite of the new. The history of the political and social changes of the past century in the new and the old Europe alike is almost like the dream of the King of Babylon, in which the great image was smitten by a stone cut out without hands, and its iron and clay, and silver and gold, were broken to pieces together, and made like the chaff of the summer threshing-floor, while the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth. Those great monarchies of western Europe, out of which the new Europe sprang, have been completely metamorphosed. It is true that this is not entirely attributable to the new Europe; but the new Europe unquestionably had a great share in the work. France is a republic, Spain has been a republic, and will be so again; England and Portugal are notoriously republics in a monarchical guise. Oddly enough, the Dutch Republic, to which, as we have seen, the reorganization of the old Europe may be traced, has outwardly become a monarchy, but it is really a republic with an hereditary president. In deciding one of the most important issues in the history of our time, the fate of southeastern Europe and western Asia, the reaction of the New World will probably be very apparent. These parts must be practically colonized over again; and this can only be done under free political systems. Liberty and colonization have in fact already begun to do this great work in Servia, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Greece; and the next steps will perhaps be taken in Crete and Asia Minor. We have in one place of this volume briefly traced the connection of the growth of the colonies with the growth of the mechanical arts in Europe. The vastness and variety of nature in the New World has given an extraordinary stimulus to physical science. Men of science have interrogated nature in a more patient spirit; they have unlearned the narrow dogmas of a half-Asiatic philosophy. In the New World, where the imagination enjoys an ampler air than in the Old, there have been formed many strange and wide aspirations. Few of them, perhaps, have been realized; but there is no doubt that here the great Christian dogma of the practical fraternity of mankind has taken for the first time its true meaning. In the New World all men are equal, and have equal rights; and as the New World is conterminous with the spread of Christianity, leaving Mahommedanism, Hinduism, and Buddhism to Asia and Africa, so it is conterminous with the spread of political and social liberty, leaving to Asia the system of castes and dynasties. Turning to a more homely aspect of history, we shall still find the new and the old Europe on the same basis of progress. We have seen that this history is concerned not only with a larger area, but with a wider series of facts, than most histories. The growth of the colonial nations is inseparably connected with the growth of wealth, enterprise, science, public spirit, and general enlightenment in the mother countries. This is why

England and Holland have beaten the Latin nations in the colonial race, and colonial growth has reacted powerfully in all these respects upon the old Europe. The growth of inventions in machinery, one of the great distinguishing features of the last hundred years, has had much to do both with colonial progress and with the progress in the old Europe produced by the reaction of colonial progress. Without the steamboat and the railway, the new Europe would never have become what it has become; and it is the power-loom, the cotton-gin, the wool-combing machine, and such like inventions, which have given to the most flourishing colonial trades their present magnitude and importance. The New World has had a most important effect on the well-being of the poorer people in the old Europe. It has produced materials for their work; it has afforded them an opportunity of escaping from a narrow field into a land where labor has every advantage on its side, and it has also made food of all kinds much cheaper. The New World has more food than it wants; from its abundance of productive land, it overflows everywhere with the necessaries of life, and the Old World of course feels the benefit. Not only coffee and sugar, but even bread and butter, flour, cheese, lard, salted meat of all kinds, and even fresh meat and fruits, are brought to the old Europe from the New World. This illustrates perhaps better than anything else how close and real the ties between the Old and the New World are becoming.

With regard to the great mass of the new European nations, that is, to those of the American continent from the St. Lawrence to Patagonia, their relation to each other and to the nations of old Europe is precisely the same as that existing in the nations of the old continent. They are independent, and connected by no necessary ties whatever. The New World has thus increased the absolute number of the great European family of nations. Most of the new members of that family may not be at present worthy of comparison in point of strength or wisdom with the old, but, as we have seen, they have been both strong enough and wise enough to establish their independence, and to organize themselves on a uniform basis, setting their faces steadfastly toward progress; their capacity for development is unlimited, and succeeding generations will see the result. Asia and Africa themselves will perhaps be gradually Europeanized through the preponderance given to European ideas by the independent forces of the New

World. The new Europe increases in population in a greater ratio than has ever been known, and it is impossible to guess what may be the exact effect of this upon the balance of national power on the globe. The new Europe embraces about twenty sovereign states, and may possibly break up further, so as to yield a greater number of political units standing toward each other in independent relations. These independent relations at present only exist in their perfect form in Europe itself, in the United States, and in Spanish and Portuguese America.[1] The three great groups of English colonies were for a time in a state of semi-independence, which could not fail to hamper their progress without conferring either on themselves or on the mother-country any benefit in exchange. To-day the independence of Canada and Australia is practically complete and it is hard to see how their connection with the mother-country can hamper their progress, save by exposing them to the chances of a war undertaken by Great Britain against a great power. The risk of attack by any but a great naval power would be small for Australia and South Africa; and for Canada likewise, unless the war were with the United States.

These three groups of colonies bring us back to a difficulty which was familiar to English statesmen more than a century ago. The Canadian and Australian Parliaments make their own laws, and raise their own taxes, just as the Parliament of the United Kingdom does for Great Britain and Ireland. Their sole connection with the mother-country is through the Crown; and though they have been mainly peopled from the United Kingdom, in no sense can they be considered as sharing in its nationality. They do not wish to stand alone in the world, and they feel that they are not strong enough to do so; besides this, there is a natural and irresistible desire for peoples speaking the same tongue to unite in forming large and powerful combinations. Year by year the world is learning to unite its forces more and more closely. Every citizen of a great nation bears reflected upon himself some part of the reputation of that nation. The Englishman and the Frenchman, the citizen of the United States and of united Germany, are proud of their title; but no one at present could be very proud of being an Australian or a South African, because these countries have not as yet produced great men or done great deeds. The people of these lands will sooner or later desire to attach themselves to some great nationality. Now the English-speaking world is divided into two rival nationalities, those of the old country and the new country; of Britain and the United States. At present, Canada, Australia, and South Africa belong to neither. The first and second have been endowed with local organizations of their own, and we may expect to hear that the voice of these great groups of colonies will be raised for a substantial federative union with one or other of the great powers which divide the English-speaking world. Unless these loose groups are attached by some such firm tie to England, one of them is quite certain, and even the others are very likely, to attach themselves to the United States. In the political as well as the physical world, attraction is a mighty law. The statesmen of the latter nation have from the beginning regarded as a certainty the accession of Canada to the Union. The United States do not desire to conquer Canada by force, but no one can foresee the effects of a political rupture with England, and the same relation extends to other British colonies. Canada and Australia both belong to the great world of the Pacific on either shore of which America and Russia are rapidly extending their naval stations. The United States already has possession of the Sandwich Islands, which are nearly half way to the Fiji group, and of the Philippines. On the other hand, many able politicians have thought the empire a mere figment, and, if it possessed reality, not worth maintaining. This, however, is not so clear. England is the only colonial nation which has a population which is ever exceeding its narrow geographical limits and at the same time possesses colonies oversea which lie open to European immigration on a large scale. The overflow of England now peoples states which, though English-speaking, are not part of England. Most of it peoples the United States; and it will continue to do so as long as the present anomalous condition of things continues. If an actual union with the colonies were accomplished, there is no doubt that they would grow much faster. The overflow of her population would then enrich her own soil. A closer union with her colonies would certainly tend to secure for England that weight in the world which is imperiled by the scantiness of her geographical limits, ever diminishing in comparative size and importance with the increase in size and importance of the nations of the New World. Without her great Indian Empire, England would have far less weight in the world's balance of power. The weight which her colonies are capable of adding to her substantial power is of a different kind, and it is no doubt true that it is impossible for English statesmen to wield the political force of her colonies as they wield that of India. But it is by no means clear that some real tie of union might not be adopted which, without increasing the complexity of the imperial government of England, might add to its forces the fast-growing forces of the great groups of English independent colonies, or at any rate to prevent them from drifting away and becoming rivals, if not enemies, as the United States of America have done. Such a united empire of Great Britain and her colonies would not be a colonial empire in the true sense at all. It would be a federation of independent states. Public opinion in favor of it in the colonies and in England steadily grows, and some attempt at its realization will in all likelihood be made. The current revival of protectionist doctrines in England draws much of its strength from this drift of public opinion.

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[1] Japan has been recently admitted to a standing of full diplomatic equality with other civilized powers.

This history has been to a great extent a history of the decline and fall of colonial empires. We have seen the outlines of a great French empire in North America, of which the Canadian Dominion claims to be the natural representative, fade away almost before they were recognized by the world. We have seen the fall of the British empire in North America, and the break-up of the great Spanish empire in South America. In the course of the wars of the half-century of transition, we have seen the colonial empires of France and Holland utterly destroyed by the British arms. We have seen the South American Portuguese colony, through a singular combination of circumstances, reverse its natural relation to the mother-country, and finally cut itself adrift. We have seen the settlements of all Europe on the coasts of India overshadowed by the growth of the great Indian military empire of England. We have seen within our own time the new French colonial empire grow to vast size, and new nations, especially Germany and the United States, entering the colonial field. These colonies are of a new type, offering no field for the growth of new states of European race, but occupied by peoples of inferior civilization under the political control of the white race. The new colonialism means the parceling out of the whole world among the more advanced nations and the subjection of the less advanced to their control and leadership. European influence thus becomes world-wide, for though one Asiatic nation has recently become a great power, it has done so by the adoption of European ideas and methods. To what extent a similar transformation may be wrought in other Asiatic peoples no man can foretell.

The growth of the new Europe, as we have seen, has greatly, though by no means entirely, depended on the outflow of the superfluous population of the old. Before the epoch of independence this outflow was considerable; but it took an entirely new start after the peace of 1815, and the nineteenth century was a great era of movement for European peoples. Many things have concurred to promote it. Steam navigation, the invention of machinery employing fewer hands, a reformed policy on the part of government in dealing with the poor, the diffusion of increased knowledge of the New World, have all tended in this direction. The main sources of this outflow of population from old Europe during the greater part of the nineteenth century were the United Kingdom and Germany; and the former took the lead.[2] Religious persecution at home and toleration in America greatly promoted English emigration in the seventeenth century; and as early as 1710 emigration became a direct policy. In that year Queen Anne's government offered a free passage to America for distressed laborers and their families; and the superfluous agricultural population of England has ever since poured into America in a steady stream. Special causes for a time made Ireland its chief source.[3] The destruction of the small holdings and villages of Ireland for the benefit of the landlords and large farmers, in the middle of the eighteenth century, was one; the unjust penal laws were another. These laws drove the Irish Catholics to the New World in a larger proportion than the Protestants, and when this cause ceased to operate, it was succeeded by one even more effectual. The introduction of potato culture caused a great subdivision of the land, and doubled the density of the poor country population; the failure of the potato crop in 1846 and 1847 suddenly drove between one and two millions of Irish to seek their subsistence in the New World. A spirit of adventure, rather than actual injustice or necessity, has always promoted emigration from the island of Great Britain, especially from its northern portion. Wherever we go, whether in the New World or in the trading settlements of the East, we find the Scotch to be a leading people among emigrant Europeans. Notwithstanding that depopulation of the Highlands which was once mercilessly pursued by the landowners, Scotland has never equaled England, with its large teeming cities, as a source of population for the New World. England is the center of news for the whole globe; and as soon as new chances offer in any part of it, a spontaneous emigration, not altogether of poor people, but of the large class of people of trading and industrial pursuits who have saved a small capital, and of enterprising young men from the middle and upper classes, at once begins. Wherever these people go, the poorer emigrants, who have nothing to depend on but their labor, find the way made plain for them, and it is their pioneering that puts British emigration in a rank above that of the rest of Europe. Germany comes next to the British Isles as a source of population. Ever since the twelfth century the miners and artisans of Germany have been spreading into the bordering countries. From Spain to Lapland, from Lapland to the Black Sea, German settlements are everywhere to be found. Germans accompanied the English to Virginia, the Dutch to New Amsterdam, and the Swedes to the Delaware, and they formed a large proportion of the people settled by William Penn in Pennsylvania. Early in the eighteenth century German communities began to spring up in the state of New York and the Carolinas. Tempted by Law's famous scheme, they settled on the Mississippi; and as early as 1750 the German element in North America began to rival that of the British themselves. The great stimulus given to British emigration since 1815 acted powerfully on Germany also. If we look at the tables of figures in which these facts are registered, we see that at every sudden push which British emigration makes, German emigration rises and falls with it, like its shadow, following it[4] not only to the United States, but to Canada, the Australias, and South Africa. The Germans, as we have seen, have also gone in immense numbers to the nations of South America, especially those in its southern latitudes. Though the Germans have helped to colonize almost every nation of old and new Europe, they have never formed a great national colony, because at home they have never until recently been a solid nation, but a group of loose peoples, and their present colonial enterprise is due to their national consolidation. Moreover, the laws under which they have lived at home have not been such as they have wished to reëstablish elsewhere; they have been glad to attach themselves to communities where the laws were juster, and the society more equal. Conscription, governments oppressive in the minutest details, restraints upon marriage, forced labor, privileges of the classes above them, land laws either producing a mischievous subdivision of a soil universally mediocre, as in the Rhineland, or practically preventing it altogether, as in Austria, have impelled the poor people of Germany to seek a new life in a New World by a thousand inlets. If the German governments had been wise in the beginning of the eighteenth century, they might have founded somewhere a New Germany, which would have rivaled the New Britain. Certain wise men pressed Frederick the Great to buy ships and found colonies; but he answered that a ship cost as much as a regiment, and that he preferred regiments. This answer tells us why some European nations have made solid offshoots from themselves in the New World, and some have not. The Germans come next to the Scotch and English as successful emigrants. Their patience, prudence, and love of work are unrivaled. The German states have contributed to emigration in different proportions. Austria has large, thinly-peopled countries belonging to her in Europe, as Russia has in Asia; hence the surplus population of Austria, like that of Russia, has generally emigrated to new seats in the Old World instead of wandering to the New. Bavaria and Prussia are the chief sources of German emigration, but it is difficult to ascertain the extent to which it really goes on. One remarkable thing about German emigration is that it has for the most part been carried on against the will of the German governments. Looking on the people as their slaves, only born to fight their battles and till their lands, these have naturally thought it unfair that the people should want to forsake their fatherland for ease and liberty; it is only when pauperism has been rife that they have favored the movement. Since the acquisition of colonies of its own the German Government has tried in vain to divert thither the stream of German emigration which normally flows into the United States and the British colonies. The New World has been to modern Germany what the great free cities were in former times, a place where liberty and honest labor could find a refuge from political and social oppression. The French have never been a great emigrating people.[5] The poor starved peasantry of France in the eighteenth century could not emigrate as the Irish and Germans have done, because they were under a strong centralized government, because there were no free towns to serve as outlets, because they knew less of the New World, because many French colonies had disastrously failed, and because they had a strong and famous nationality, which they loved, in spite of everything, at home. French emigration of any extent dates from more recent times. Most of the new South American nations have been glad to take French immigrants; and some hundreds of thousands have gone to Algeria. Belgium, with its very dense population, and perfect liberty of emigration, has contributed greatly[6] to peopling the United States, and in a less degree to that of South America. In Holland the main causes of emigration have been wanting, and adventure has taken a mercantile rather than an agricultural direction. Since the loss of its own colonies, Holland has contributed to swell the general European outflow; but the usual destination of the Dutch emigrant is still South Africa. The Swiss and Italians have helped to people the United States, Brazil, and the Plata River. The surplus poor population of one or two districts of Spain spreads chiefly over the neighboring parts of Europe and Africa. Many thousands have gone to Algeria, and this has proved a great help to the French Government, for the Spaniards have been taught by the experience of centuries how to deal with the Africans.[7] The Portuguese emigrate chiefly to Brazil. In eastern Europe, where the population is very thin, there was for a long time no impulse to emigration. On the contrary, it ought to be a field of immigration, and under wise governments might seriously compete as such with the New World. Southern Russia, western and central Asia, and all the countries which have lately freed themselves, or are now freeing themselves, from the blight of Turkish domination, would, under favorable circumstances, irresistibly attract western labor and capital; nevertheless a large emigration of the peoples of eastern Europe began in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and is still in progress, the large emigration of Italians being coincident in time. In the thirty years ending 1850, immigrants to the United States from the United Kingdom and its North American colonies, Germany, and Scandinavia numbered 2,075,000, as against less than 6000 from Italy, Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Poland. In the decade ending 1880 the emigration from this group of southern and eastern European countries had swelled to 180,000, but was still only one-thirteenth of that from the northwestern European group. In the next decade this ratio was as one to four, and in the last decade of the century approximately as six to five. Emigration from the northwestern European group fell off very greatly in this last decade and was actually less by 500,000 than in any other decade since 1850. This decrease was probably due to the coincidence of industrial prosperity in these countries and industrial depression in the United States. The good times prevailing in America since 1898 have again powerfully stimulated emigration.

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[2] Of 17,333,000 emigrants from Europe in the period 1820-1882, 8,570,000 were British subjects, and 4,614,000 Germans.—Mulhall's "Dictionary Statistics."

[3] Immigration into the United States from Great Britain excluding Ireland was noticeably less than that from Germany throughout the period 1821-1900. Of all immigrants into the United States Ireland furnished 42 per cent. in the period 1821-1850, a proportion steadily reduced until it fell to less than 11 per cent. in the decade ending 1900.—"Twelfth Census of U. S.," Vol. I., p. 103.

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[4] In the period 1872-1881 emigrants from Germany numbered 2,411,000, as against 1,729,000 from the United Kingdom—Mulhall's "Dictionary of Statistics." German and British immigration into the United States was substantially equal in the decade 1881-1890. In the following decade Great Britain and Ireland again outstripped Germany in the race.

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[5] From this statement should be excepted the French Canadians, who numbered 395,427 in United States in 1900.—"Twelfth Census U. S.," Vol. I., p. 732.

[6] In 1900 there were only 29,848 persons of Belgian birth in the United States. The Dutch numbered 105,049, being one per cent. of the total foreign-born population, a percentage slightly higher than at any previous time. —"Twelfth Census of U. S.," Vol. I., pp. clxxi, 732.

[7] More than 40,000 Spanish immigrants arrived in Cuba in one year under the American military occupation.—"Five Years in the War Department Following the War with Spain," p. 116.

The great currents of European emigration set toward the United States and the British colonies. Of 17,000,000 emigrants in the period 1820-1882, of whom half were British subjects, 11,700,000 went to the United States, 3,800,000 to British Colonies, and 1,500,000 to South America. The great bulk of all emigrants were destined to absorption in the Anglo-Saxon race.

The chief points in the history of the European colonies, or, as it is better to call them, the new Europe, are as follows: This history is divided into two main periods, separated by a half-century of transition (1775-1825). Previously to the said half-century, all the European colonies, except the solitary settlement at the Cape of Good Hope, were in America. "The Colonies," in those days only meant America, with the West Indian Islands; America was a colonial continent belonging in unequal proportions to several European nations. Setting aside for the moment the

Plantation colonies, up to 1674 there were five America-holding nations; from thence until 1763 there were four; and from thence until 1775 there were three of these nations. Between 1775 and 1825 the power of all three of these nations, after three more or less obstinate struggles, was completely extinguished, excepting only in the colonies conquered at different times by England from France: and instead of the colonies there were now independent nations in the whole length and breadth of the American continent. The only parts of their colonial empires which the five European nations retained were the West Indian Plantations; and Spain has recently lost all her possessions in that quarter while the other islands have been for the most part decreasing in importance ever since 1825, so that altogether we may say that Europe has no longer the same kind of interest in the Western Continent that she had a hundred years ago. Since the half-century of transition, each of the independent states of America has a history of its own. The fall of the colonial empires in America made the European colonial nations turn their attention in other directions; and England has now attached to her three groups of colonies, most of which have already reached a stage quite corresponding to that of the United States at the epoch of independence. The Canadian and the Australian groups are already united by confederations of their own, and perhaps the same thing will some day take place in the South African group. England has also built up a vast colonial empire over peoples of inferior civilization and has at the same time extended and solidified her empire in India. As for France, about the beginning of this century England took away every one of the rest of her colonies, just as she had already taken Acadia and Canada; but most of them were restored, and since 1815 the French have been as busy as possible in getting up a new empire, partly colonial, partly Oriental, which includes a population of more than fifty millions, mostly of native races. The Dutch have concentrated themselves in their rich Oriental archipelago, where they have been supreme ever since the massacre of Amboyna, excepting the short period, nearly one hundred years ago, when the English took away all their colonies because they were allies of the French. The Spaniards have lost all their colonies in America and the Pacific, retaining only insignificant holdings in Africa, and the Portuguese have remained in stagnation, while English enterprise has taken possession of much territory once claimed by Portugal in Africa. Italy, Germany, and the United States in the last quarter of the nineteenth century have undertaken colonial enterprises, and the two latter nations have acquired tropical dependencies extensive in area and having a large native population. They are not suited to the development of new communities of European blood and civilization. No extensive unpeopled temperate region remains on the globe where the achievements of the English as nation builders in North America, Australasia, and South Africa, can be rivaled, unless it is South America, and the opposition of the United States forbids any such enterprise in that quarter. The colonial empires of to-day are and will remain a field for European and American industrial enterprise and for European and American leadership in government and civilization, but the bulk of their population is and must remain non-European. Altogether, it is plain that the changes and growths which make up this history are on a larger scale than any others that have been known; and it is this circumstance, enhanced by the sense of a great and unknown future, which gives to colonial history its peculiarly impressive character.

Chapter XXI

MANDATES—DEPENDENCIES OF A NEW KIND.
1919-1928

By Cleveland Rodgers

IN the famous "Fourteen Points" submitted by President Wilson as the basis for a settlement of the World War the following, Point V, related to colonial possessions:

"Free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined."

This principle, modified in some respects, was incorporated in the Covenant of the League of Nations, which became a part of the Treaty of Versailles. Article XXII of the League Covenant declares—in part:

"To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them, and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization, and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant. The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations, who, by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as mandatories on behalf of the League."

Germany's former overseas possessions and certain parts of the former Turkish Empire, which had been taken over by the Supreme Allied Council, were assigned to different governments under mandates. The League of Nations had nothing to do with the terms of these mandates or their assignment, but a Permanent Mandates Commission was created to receive and examine annual reports of the Mandatories and to advise the Council of the League on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates. As provided by the League Covenant, the mandates were divided into three classes. The division of territory under these classes was as follows:

Class A—Syria, Palestine and Iraq. Great Britain became mandatory for Palestine and Iraq; France received the mandate for Syria.

Class B—German East Africa and Ruanda, Togoland and the Cameroons. German East Africa (renamed Tanganyika) was mandated to Great Britain, as were parts of Togoland and the Cameroons. The larger part of the Cameroons and a part of Togoland went to France, while Belgium received the mandate for Ruanda (a part of German East Africa).

Class C—German Southwest Africa, Samoa, New Guinea and other former German possessions in the Pacific. Southwest Africa was mandated to the Union of South Africa; Samoa went to New Zealand; Nauru was put under a mandate jointly administered by Australia and Great Britain; the former German islands in the Pacific south of the equator went to Australia; those north of the equator to Japan.

Although not a member of the League, the United States, as an associated war power, approved of these mandates on condition that free and equal treatment in law and in fact be accorded to the commerce of all nations. Under the wording of the Covenant, Syria, Palestine and Iraq were to be recognized as independent communities subject to the rendering of advice and assistance by the mandatory Power "until they are capable of standing alone." Class B mandates require the mandatory to promote the moral and material welfare of the people and to administer their governmental affairs. The Class C mandates provide for administration under the laws of the mandatory Powers as integral portions of the latter's territory.

Much confusion followed the formulation of this new and complicated system, and the Permanent Mandates Commission immediately encountered difficulties in carrying out its vaguely defined duties. The main trouble arose from the fact that while the commission was in theory an international agency answerable only to the League, its powers were severely restricted by the League Council, which was dominated by the mandatory nations whose administration of mandated territory was subject to the supervision of the commission. The mandate system represented a compromise on the part of the Allied Nations, whose previous commitments were often in conflict with the mandate provisions. Some of the serious difficulties that developed took the form of protests from Syria, Palestine and Iraq, all Class A mandates. The League Covenant declared "the wishes of such communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory." As a matter of fact the wishes of the people were not consulted and their protests were not effective in changing conditions.

In Syria resistance to the French led to violent fighting and while repeated appeals were made to the Mandates Commission and to the League, the French were themselves allowed by the Council to make their own investigation and report on the administration of the territory. From the first the Mandates Commission was besieged by petitions from mandated territories, usually containing grievances against the mandatory Power. Under the procedure approved by the League Council the Mandates Commission's functions are severely limited and the mandatory Powers have resisted the efforts to broaden the scope of the commission. In the case of Syria the protests against the French mandate and the French administration before and after the rebellion of 1925 demanded independence. Protests were also received from numerous factions in Palestine, voicing opposition to the British mandate over that country.

Iraq, the other Class A mandate, likewise caused great difficulty. The status of Iraq was changed in 1924, when the British government recognized Iraq as an independent state and assumed responsibility for the country in a formal agreement with the League Council. In addition to Palestine, Great Britain was also given a mandate over Transjordania, which was not at once applied because a government had been set up there under Emir Abdullah. Great Britain finally accepted full responsibility for the Transjordania territory in 1924. In May, 1927, Great Britain recognized by treaty the independence of Hejaz and Nejd, with Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud as Sultan of Nejd and King of Hejaz. Ibn Saud had, two years before, driven King Hussein from Mecca. King Hussein, whose son Feisal became King of Iraq, and whose other son, Emir Abdullah, ruled Transjordania, fled to Akaba and entrenched himself there. Ibn Saud claimed Akaba as a part of Hedjaz. Wahabi tribesmen of Nejd made repeated raids into the territory of Iraq and Transjordania and were never reconciled to the boundaries that had been assigned to them by the British treaties. For some time the British gave Ibn Saud liberal financial support, expecting in return that he would maintain peace. Raids on border towns and posts of Transjordania and Iraq in 1928 were at first thought to indicate retaliation or the threat of "Holy War" on the part of Ibn Saud, but he denied this, declaring he had forbidden the raids, but protesting against police posts on the borders.

Difficulties over the administration of the mandates took many forms, and numerous disturbances occurred. In 1923 there was an uprising in Southwest Africa, directed against the Union of South Africa as the mandatory. This issue was confused by the conflicting sentiment of the Dutch and British element in the Union. Most of the organized protests came from the Class A mandates, but minor clashes developed in the other mandates areas. In Togoland and also in Ruanda, trouble was caused by the new boundaries bisecting tribes. In Samoa the government of New Zealand faced a threatening revolt of natives in 1927, which included an organized boycott.

Broadly, however, the defects of the mandate system as developed during the first eight years were due to the anomalies and contradictions in the status of the mandated territory. Because of the opposition from the mandatory Powers dominant in the League Council, the Mandates Commission was not able to secure adequate information concerning the administration of the mandates, and was hampered in carrying out its tasks. The system did not conform, in practice, to the plain provisions of the League Covenant, and while much progress was made in clarifying certain details of procedure, the authority of the Mandates Commission was, up to 1928, too limited and its work too badly hampered to get the best results.

Nevertheless, it may be said that the administration of mandated territory under the indirect supervision of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League was infinitely better from the standpoint of the peoples concerned than was usual under the older method of annexing conquered peoples and territory. More publicity was given to the problems of backward countries and world attention was focused as never before on every situation suggesting that the peoples affected by mandates were being oppressed or unduly exploited. The great ideal back of the mandate system is that ultimately the backward territories may develop and take their place in the world as independent sovereign states. No such hope was held out to such peoples following previous European wars.

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This report by two Spanish naval officers is of great value for its description of conditions in New Grenada and Peru. It was first printed in Spanish in 1748. Their secret report (*"Noticias secretas de America,"* London, 1826, not translated), exposes the corruption of political and social life.

Lea, Henry C.—"The Indian Policy of Spain." [In "Yale Review," Vol. 8, pp. 119-155, August, 1899.]

A critical study by the most eminent of living American historical scholars, dealing with the policy of Spain toward the American natives and the career of Las Casas.

Lowery, Woodbury.—"The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States, 1513-1561." With Maps. New York and London, 1901.

A careful narrative of discovery, exploration and settlement in the Gulf region, New Mexico, Arizona and California, containing a good account of the missions. Footnotes contain bibliographical references.

Moses, Bernard.—"The Establishment of Spanish Rule in America." New York, 1898.

A brief and clear account of the governmental organization of the Spanish-American colonies.

Pons, François-Raimond Joseph de.—"Voyage to the Eastern Part of Terra

Firma or the Spanish Main in South America, 1801-1804; Translated by an American Gentleman [Washington Irving]." 3 vols. New York, 1806.

The author was the French government agent at Caracas, and gives one of the best descriptions of colonial life just before the war of independence. Especially valuable for the administrative, religious and commercial systems.

Robertson, William.—"History of America." 2 vols. London, 1777.

Book VIII of this once famous work gives an account of the administrative and commercial systems in the Spanish colonies which is still valuable.

Roscher, Wilhelm.—"The Spanish Colonial System . . ." Translation edited by Edward Gaylord Bourne. New York, 1904.

This translation of one chapter of Roscher's "*Kolonien*" (noted above under Colonization in General: Theory and History), makes available to the general reader one of the best accounts of the Spanish colonial system. The bibliographical footnotes of the original are enriched by the editor's additions, especially by noting English translations of the sources cited by Roscher.

Walton, Clifford Stevens.—"The Civil Law in Spain and Spanish America." Washington, 1900.

Contains brief accounts of the development of the civil law in Spain and Spanish America, of the laws of the Indies and of Mexico, with translations of the Mexican constitution, of the Cuban autonomous constitution of 1897, of the principal Spanish laws in force in Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines, and of the Spanish civil code. The last is very fully annotated.

Watson, Robert Grant.—"Spanish and Portuguese America During the Colonial Period." 2 vols. London, 1884.

This is the best general narrative in English of the history of colonial South America as a whole.

Worcester, Dean Conant.—"The Philippine Islands and their People: A Record of Personal Observation and Experience, with a Short Summary of the More Important Facts in the History of the Archipelago." New York, 1898.

The author gets his history from Foreman (noted above), but his account of present conditions has independent value. He was in the islands on scientific expeditions in 1887-1888 and 1890-1893, and his book is a record of his experiences.

Zimmermann, Alfred.—"*Die Kolonialpolitik Portugals und Spaniens.*" Berlin, 1896. (Volume 1 of his "*Die europäischen Kolonien,*" noted above under Colonization in General: Theory and History.)

BRITISH COLONIES—GENERAL

Beer, George Louis.—"The Commercial Policy of England Toward the American Colonies." (Columbia College Studies in History . . . Vol. 3, No. 2.) New York, 1893.

A scholarly account of the navigation acts and other measures of the British government restricting, regulating and encouraging colonial commerce and industry, showing that the British policy, though mistaken, was not intended to be oppressive. The work is based on state papers and other original sources. A bibliography is given on pp. 159-167.

"British Empire Series." [Lectures at the South Place Institute.] 4 vols. London, 1899-1900.

Popular lectures given in London to spread trustworthy information as to all parts of the empire. (Vol. 1, India, Ceylon, Straits Settlements, British North Borneo and Hong-Kong; Vol. 2, British Africa; Vol. 3, British America; Vol. 4, Australasia.) The lecturers differed in ability, scope of treatment and points of view.

Chalmers, George, Editor.—"Opinions of Eminent Lawyers on Various Points of English Jurisprudence, Chiefly Concerning the Colonies, Fisheries and Commerce of Great Britain . . ." 2 vols. London, 1814. Burlington, 1858.

A valuable record of the current of legal opinion in England upon the relations between Great Britain and her American colonies, chiefly in the eighteenth century.

Cunningham, William.—"Growth of English Industry and Commerce." 3 vols. Cambridge, 1896-1903.

A work of high value dealing with the progress of agriculture, manufactures, trade, colonies, shipping, economic opinion, and other topics of economic history. (Vol. 1, Early and Middle Ages; Vols. 2-3, Modern Times.) For bibliography see Vol. 1, pp. 651-673, and Vol. 3, pp. 943-998. The appendices contain illustrative documents, statistical tables, etc.

Dilke, Sir Charles Wentworth—"Problems of Greater Britain." With maps. London and New York, 1890.

"A treatise on the present position of Greater Britain, in which special attention has been given to the relations of the English-speaking countries with one another, and to the comparative politics of the countries under British government." The several colonies are treated individually.

Egerton, Hugh Edward.—"A Short History of British Colonial Policy." London, 1897; New York, 1898.

A scholarly work based on a thorough study of the printed and manuscript sources. The narrative is divided into five periods: 1, Beginnings, 1497-1650; 2, Trade ascendency, 1651-1830; 3, Granting responsible government 1831-1860; 4, Laissez-aller; 5, Greater Britain. For bibliography, see pp. 481-489.

——"Origin and Growth of the English Colonies and of their System of Government: An Introduction to C. P. Lucas's Historical Geography of the British Colonies." Oxford, 1903.

An excellent brief sketch of English colonial development, with special reference to the local political systems of the colonies and their connection with the home government. There are also chapters on the mercantile system, the age of discovery and the other European colonizing powers, ancient and modern. Bibliographical references at the end of each chapter.

Great Britain.—Board of Trade. "Statistical Abstract for the Several Colonial and Other Possessions of the United Kingdom." London.

This annual publication gives important official statistics of the several colonies and dependencies.

——Colonial Office.—"Colonial Office List . . ." London, annual.

An annual publication giving valuable historical and statistical information about the several colonies and dependencies. Compiled from official records.

Jenkyns, Sir Henry.—"British Rule and Jurisdiction Beyond the Seas; with a Preface by Sir Courtenay Ilbert." Oxford, 1902

An excellent account of the legal side of the British colonial system. The author's long experience as parliamentary counsel of the treasury especially qualified him for his work.

Jenks, Jeremiah W.—"Report on Certain Economic Questions in the English and Dutch Colonies of the Orient." Washington, 1902.

This report of a commissioner of the United States deals with forms of government, currency, Chinese immigration, taxation, etc., and covers Java, the Straits Settlements, Burma, Egypt, India and Ceylon.

Lucas, Charles Prestwood.—"A Historical Geography of the British Colonies." 5 vols. +. Oxford and New York, 1888-1901.

The author aims to give a connected account of the colonies, of the geographical and historical reasons for their belonging to England, and of the special place which each colony holds in the empire. His materials are carefully gathered and skillfully used. (Vol. 1, European dependencies, minor Asiatic dependencies, British dependencies in the Malay seas; Vol. 2, West Indies, British Guiana, British Honduras, Falkland Islands, South Georgia; Vol. 3, British Africa; Vol. 4, South and East Africa (in two parts); Vol. 5, Canada, Part 1.)

Seeley, Sir John Robert.—"The Expansion of England: Two Courses of Lectures." London and Boston, 1883.

A suggestive and stimulating book treating separately the American colonies and India, characterized by breadth of view and simplicity of style.

Tarring, Charles James.—"Chapters on the Law Relating to the Colonies." London, 1882.

——Same. 2d ed. enlarged. London, 1893.

A valuable legal treatise upon the legal side of the colonial system as shown in British statutes and in the decisions of the English courts.

Todd, Alpheus.—"Parliamentary Government in the British Colonies." Boston, 1880. 2d ed. London and New York, 1894.

A convenient handbook of the parliamentary government in its practical operation in the self-governing colonies, with chapters on the relations of the sovereign to parliamentary government, the application of parliamentary government to colonial institutions, the history of its introduction into the colonies, and the position and functions of a colonial governor.

Woodward, W. H.—"A Short History of the Expansion of the British Empire, 1500-1870." Cambridge, 1899.

A brief and clear narrative of British colonization, including India and other dependencies, from its beginnings. With maps.

Zimmermann, Alfred.—"*Die Kolonialpolitik, Grossbritanniens*" (Vols. 2-3 of his "*Die europäischen Kolonien.*" Noted above under Colonization in General; Theory and History).

BRITISH COLONIES—ASIA AND AFRICA

For books on India and Africa, see the volumes of this series devoted to these regions respectively. James Bryce's "Impressions of South Africa" (3d ed., London, 1899), gives a good account of the physical features, climate, conditions, history and race problems of that country, with valuable maps. His "Two South African Constitutions" (*Forum*, April, 1896; reprinted in his "Studies in History and Jurisprudence," New York and London c. 1901, pp. 369-390), describes the constitutions of the two Boer republics as they stood in 1895. Leroy-Beaulieu's account of South Africa is noted below (British Colonies—Australasia). Sir Spencer St. John's "Rajah Brooke, the Englishman as Ruler of an Eastern State" ("Builders of Greater Britain," London, 1899), deals with the remarkable career of the founder of British rule in North Borneo. See also Jenks, "Report on Certain Economic Questions in the English and Dutch Colonies of the Orient." (Noted above under British Colonies, General.)

BRITISH COLONIES—AUSTRALASIA

Bryce, James.—"The Constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia." [In his "Studies in History and Jurisprudence," pp. 391-462. New York and London, c. 1901.]

Traces the movement for federation, the causes which brought it about, the physical and social conditions affecting it; and carefully studies the Australian constitution from the historical point of view, comparing it with the constitutions of the United States and Canada.

Jenks, Edward.—"A History of the Australasian Colonies from Their Foundation to the Year 1903." Stereotyped edition. ("Cambridge Historical Series"). Cambridge, 1897.

The best brief narrative history of Australia and New Zealand. Written from parliamentary papers, colonial archives and contemporary narratives of travel and exploration. Special attention is given to constitutional development. The author was formerly a university officer in Melbourne.

Lloyd, Henry Demarest.—"Newest England: Notes of a Democratic Traveller in New Zealand, with Some Australian Comparisons." New York, 1900.

A laudatory account of the various manifestations of socialism in government undertakings in New Zealand.

Leroy-Beaulieu, Pierre Paul.—"*Les Nouvelles Sociétés Anglo-Saxonnes, Australie, Nouvelle-Zéland, Afrique, Australe, Nouvelle édition entièrement refondue.*" Paris, 1901.

A descriptive account of Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. He criticises the socialistic experiments of the Australasian colonies and the British policy toward the Boers in South Africa.

Parkes, Sir Henry.—"Fifty Years in the Making of Australian History." London, 1892.

Autobiography of the eminent Australian statesman (1815-1896) and leader of the federation movement.

Rees, William Lee.—"Life and Times of Sir George Grey." London, 1892.

Biography of the distinguished governor of South Australia (1841-1845), Cape Colony (1853-1861), and New Zealand (1845-1853 and 1861-1867), and parliamentary leader in the latter colony (1874-1894). His career in New Zealand covers nearly the whole period since the first English settlement, and his services to that colony were of incalculable value. His rule in South Australia and Cape Colony was of great importance. The author's sources for South Australia were meager.

Quick, John and Robert Randolph Garran.—"The Annotated Constitution of the Australian Commonwealth." Sydney and London, 1901.

The historical introduction to this volume contains a sketch of the development of colonial government in Australia and New Zealand, and a full account of the movement for federation from the earliest beginnings. The constitution is elaborately annotated with references to English, American, Canadian and other precedents, and each clause has printed with it the corresponding clauses of the constitutions of the United States, Canada, Germany and Switzerland.

"Commonwealth of Australia—Parliament, Acts . . . passed . . . in the . . . first and second sessions of the first parliament." 2 vols. 1903-1904.

These volumes contain the federal constitution and all acts passed up to October, 1903, including the important acts organizing the several departments of the new federal government.

BRITISH COLONIES—AMERICA

For Canada see also French colonies (noted below). This list does not include books dealing with the colonial era of the United States.

Bourinot, Sir John George.—"Canada under British Rule, 1760-1900." ("Cambridge Historical Series.") Cambridge and New York, 1900.

——"The Story of Canada" ("Story of the Nations"). New York and London, 1896.

These are good popular histories in brief form by a competent scholar and government official. "The Story of Canada" covers all Canadian history from Cabot's voyage to 1891. (Bibliographical note pp. xix-xx.) The other work is largely concerned with the evolution of self-government and confederation. (Bibliography pp. 327-330.)

Boyce, George.—"A Short History of the Canadian People." London, 1887.

A good sketch of Canadian history to 1886, crowded with facts. There are bibliographic references at the head of each chapter.

——"The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company, Including that of the French Traders of Northwestern Canada and of the Northwest, X. Y., and Astor Fur Companies." London and New York, 1900.

This is the best history of this great trading and governing monopoly. The author is personally familiar with his field, and his account is especially full for the period since the amalgamation of all the British fur interests in North America. Much of his information was from the lips of survivors. A list of authorities and references is given on pp. 481-486.

Eden, Charles Henry.—"The West Indies." London, 1880.

A brief summary of West Indian history, with special reference to the British possessions there, based upon secondary authorities.

Edwards, Bryan.—"History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies." 5 vols. 5th ed. London, 1819.

The best work on the subject, accurate in matter and attractive in style. The fifth is the best edition.

Kingsford, William.—"History of Canada." 10 vols. Toronto and London, 1887-1898.

This is the most extended and comprehensive history of Canada to the year 1841.

Prowse, D. W.—"A History of Newfoundland, from the English, Colonial and Foreign Records." 2d ed. revised and corrected. London, 1896.

This standard work gives the history of the island from the time of the earliest settlement. It is based on very thorough research.

Walker, H. de R.—"The West Indies and the Empire: Study and Travel in the Winter of 1900-1901." London, 1901.

This is the amplification of a paper read before the Royal Colonial Institute dealing with present conditions, the sugar industry, the Negro and the East Indian, taxation and administration, and travel in the West Indies.

Willson, Beckles.—"The Great Company, 1667-1871; Being a History of the Honorable Company of Merchant Adventurers Trading into Hudson's Bay. Compiled from the Company's Archives, from Diplomatic Documents and State Papers of France and England, from the Narratives of Factors and Traders, and from Many Accounts and Memoirs." 2 vols. London, 1900.

Gives an account of the commercial and political activities of the company. Less full than Boyce's volume (noted above) for the last 80 years. The author's materials are indicated in the title. He uses them without literary art, but his pages are filled with valuable information.

FRENCH COLONIES

Bateson, Mary.—"The French in America, 1608-1744." [In "Cambridge Modern History," Vol. 7, pp. 70-113.] Cambridge, 1903.

A good brief account of French colonial enterprise in America before the final struggle with England. Bibliography at the end of the volume.

Bourne, H. E.—"A French Colonial Experiment in the Far East." [In *Yale Review,* Vol. 8, May, 1899.]

A short account of French colonization and conquest in Indo-China.

Bradley, Arthur Granville.—"The Fight with France for North America." Westminster and New York, 1900.

An excellent account of the Seven Years' War in America, leading to the conquest of Canada.

——"The Conquest of Canada, 1744-1761." [In "Cambridge Modern History," Vol. 7, pp. 114-143.]

A good brief account of the same subject. Bibliography at the end of the volume.

Gaffarel, Paul Louis Jacques.—"*Les Colonies Françaises. 6e édition, revue et augmentée.*" Paris, 1899.

Devotes a brief preliminary chapter to French colonization as a whole, and then treats each colony separately. Bibliographical lists are prefixed to each chapter. The author is an enthusiastic believer in the necessity of colonization for France.

Norman, C[harles] B[oswell].—"Colonial France." London, 1886.

This work deals briefly with a general historical summary and the general financial administration of the colonies, and then gives a description and historical account of each colony separately. The author writes as a hostile critic of French colonization.

Paris Exposition Universelle de 1900.—"Publications de la Commission Chargée de Preparer la Participation du Ministère des Colonies." 5 vols. Paris, 1900-1902.

The first volume of this official publication is a history (by Marcel Dubois and Auguste Terrier) of French colonization in the nineteenth century. The other volumes deal with the administrative, judicial, political and financial organization, exploitation, education, the survival of the French spirit in colonies lost to France, the land system, labor system and agriculture. The authors are officials of the colonial office and scholars interested in colonial problems.

Parkman, Francis.—Works. New library edition. 12 vols. Boston, 1898.

The best narrative of the French régime in Canada, French exploration and settlement in Florida and the Mississippi valley, and the English conquest; written from the sources, marked by knowledge of the field, far-reaching research, accuracy, good judgment and literary skill. Originally written as separate studies but forming a connective narrative if read in the following order: "Pioneers of France in the New World"; "The Jesuits in North America"; "La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West"; "The Old Régime in Canada"; "Frontenac"; "A Half Century of Conflict"; "Montcalm and Wolfe"; "The Conspiracy of Pontiac." Volume 12, "The Oregon Trail," is a narrative of the author's experience among the Indians of the far Northwest.

——"The Struggle for a Continent." Edited from the writings of Francis Parkman by Pelham Edgar. Boston, 1902.

An abridgement of Parkman's works made up of selected passages connected by narrative supplied by the editor.

Rambaud, Alfred.—"*La France Coloniale: Histoire, Géographie, Commerce. Ouvrage publié sans la direction de M. Alfred Rambaud.*" 7th edition. Paris, 1896.

A collaborative work under the general editorship of a well-known historical scholar. An historical introduction of 40 pages, by the editor, is followed by separate accounts of the several colonies by authors who have personally studied conditions on the ground.

Zimmermann, Alfred.—"*Die Kolonialpolitik Frankreichs.*" [Volume 4 of his "*Die europäischen Kolonien,*" noted above under Colonization in General: Theory and History.]

DUTCH COLONIES

Boys, Henry Scott.—"Some Notes on Java and its Administration by the Dutch." Allahabad, 1892.

This is "an independent study and of value, but neglects the work of the Dutch historians and critics."—Day's "Policy . . . of the Dutch in Java," p. 254.

Day, Clive Hart.—"The Policy and Administration of the Dutch in Java." New York and London, 1894.

This is the first thorough and trustworthy book in English on the economic history of the chief Dutch dependency, and is based upon a careful study of all the Dutch printed sources. It is chiefly concerned with the origin, growth and abolition of the so-called "Culture System" of forced labor, which is found to have been oppressive and wasteful. (Bibliography pp. xix-xxi and footnotes throughout the work.)

Jenks, Jeremiah W.—"Report on Certain Economic Questions in the English and Dutch Colonies of the Orient." (Noted above under British Colonies, General.)

Money, J. W. B.—"Java; or, How to Manage a Colony: Showing a Practical Solution of the Questions Now Affecting British India." 2 vols. London, 1861.

This book has been the source of English and American opinion on the culture system for nearly half a century. The author's information was obtained by a short stay in Java for health's sake. The system was then on the defensive, and officials took care to show it in a favorable light. The book is wholly untrustworthy, and its results are shown to be false by Day's "Policy and Administration of the Dutch in Java" (noted above).

Raffles, Sir Thomas Stamford.—"The History of Java." 2 vols. 2d ed. London, 1830.

The author (1781-1826) was lieutenant-governor of the Dutch East Indies during the short British occupation (1811-1815), and founder of Singapore (1819). He acquired vast scientific, linguistic and historical knowledge of the East Indian archipelago, and his "History of Java" (first edition, 1817), is of great value. The historical part is Vol. 2, and the appendix contains important documents of the period of British rule.

Zimmermann, Alfred.—"*Die Kolonialpolitik der Niederländer.*" (Vol. 5 of his "*Die europäischen Kolonien,*" noted above under Colonization in General: Theory and History.)

GERMAN COLONIES

“*Deutsche Kolonialzeitung. Organ der Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft, Redacteur, Gustav Meinecke.*” Berlin, 1883, and following.

A weekly journal, devoted to German Colonial interests.

Fitzner, Rudolf.—“*Deutsches Kolonial-handbuch nach amtlichen Quellen bearbeitet.*” Berlin, annual.

This annual gives under each colony statistics of population, trade, finance, personnel, etc. The issue for 1901 (2 vols., *2 erweiterte Auflage*), has more full information of the same sort.

Keller, Albert G.—“Essays in Colonization.” Reprinted from the *Yale Review.*

Excellent brief studies of the recent colonial expansion of Germany and Italy. The footnotes contain valuable bibliographical references.

Meinecke, Gustav.—“*Die deutschen Kolonien in Wort und Bild: Geschichte, Länder- und Völkerkunde, Tier- und Pflanzenwelt, Handels- und Wirtschafts verhältnisse der Schutzgebiete des deutschen Reiches.*” Leipzig, 1899.

A short popular account of German colonization, profusely illustrated. There is a short sketch of the early colonial enterprise of Brandenburg-Prussia and of the beginning of the new era. Each colony is then described separately.

Schmidt, Rochus—“*Deutschland's Kolonien, ihre Gestaltung. Entwickelung und Hilfsquellen.*” 2 vols. Berlin, 1895.

These small volumes by an officer in the colonial service in East Africa aim to diffuse information about the German colonies in popular form, and thus stimulate popular interest in the colonization movement. There is an historical and descriptive account of each colony, its trade, missions, means of defense, economic undertakings and government. Many maps and illustrations accompany the text.

ITALIAN COLONIES

Keller, Albert G.—“Italian Expansion and Colonies.” [In *Yale Review,* August, 1900. Reprinted in his “Essays in Colonization.” Noted above under German Colonies.]

A good brief narrative of the Italian colony of Eritrea. The footnotes contain valuable bibliographical references.

——“Italy's Experience with Colonies.” [In “Essays in Colonization,” noted above under Colonization in General: Theory and History.]

COLONIES OF THE UNITED STATES

See also Spanish Colonies *ante.*

Algué, José.—“*Atlas de Filipinos, Colección de 30 Mapas Trabajados por delineantes Filipinos Bajo la Dirección del P. José Algué, S. J., Director del Observatorio de Manila.*” (U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, Special Publication No. 3.) Washington, 1900.

The best atlas of the Philippines. The preliminary text of 24 pages is in English. See also “Jesuit Fathers,” below.

American Academy of Political and Social Science.—"The Foreign Policy of the United States, Political and Commercial; Addresses and Discussions at the Annual Meeting, April 7-8, 1899." Philadelphia, 1889.

A strong presentation of the argument for and against imperialism in the following addresses: Theodore S. Woolsey and A. Lawrence Lowell, "The Government of Dependencies;" E. W. Huffcutt, "Constitutional Aspect of the Government of Dependencies;" W. Alleyne Ireland, Talcott Williams and L. S. Rowe, "The Government of Tropical Colonies;" Carl Schurz, "Militarism and Democracy;" Worthington C. Ford, Robert T. Hill, John Ford, W. P. Wilson and E. R. Johnson, "Commercial Relations of the United States with the Far East;" John Bassett Moore, "Political Relations of the United States with the Far East;" Wu Ting Fang, "China's Relations with the West;" Lindley Miller Keasby, "Political Relations of the United States with the European Powers in the Far East;" Frederick Wells Williams, "The Real Menace of Russian Aggression."

Jesuit Fathers.—"*El archipelago Filipino, Coleccion de Datos Geographicos, Estadisticos, Cronologicos, y Cientificos, Relativos al mismo, Entresacados de Anteriores Obras ú Obtenidos con la Propria Observación y Estudio por Algunos Padres de la Mision de la Compañion de Jesús en Estas Islas.*" 2 vols. Washington, 1900.

A valuable compendium of facts at the close of the Spanish rule. Accompanied by an atlas. See above, Algué, José.

Blackman, William Tremont.—"The Making of Hawaii: A Study in Evolution." New York, 1899.

A sociological study of Hawaiian development, with especial reference to the aboriginal population. Not a narrative history.

Hart, Albert Bushnell.—"Foundations of American Foreign Policy." With a Working Bibliography. New York, 1901.

An historical account of the foreign relations of the United States in boundary disputes, military expeditions into foreign parts, relations with Cuba, territorial acquisitions and government, the Monroe Doctrine, etc. The final chapter is a tentative bibliography of American diplomacy.

Ireland, Alleyne.—"American Administration in the Philippine Islands." [In *Outlook*, N. Y., Vol. 78, pp. 1026, 1082, Dec. 24 and 31, 1904.]

Unfavorable criticism of the American policy in the Philippines, which the author thinks too liberal politically, with too much emphasis on education as contrasted with economic development.

Mowry, William Augustus.—"Territorial Growth of the United States." New York, 1902.

A popular narrative of American territorial expansion based upon secondary authorities. In the main trustworthy, but not entirely free from errors.

Sawyer, Frederick H.—"The Inhabitants of the Philippines." New York and London, 1900.

A descriptive account of the several islands, their races, customs and religions, with a brief historical sketch and much statistical material. The author resided fourteen years in the islands and "feels that no English book does justice to the natives."

Snow, Alpheus H.—"The Administration of Dependencies." New York, 1902.

An investigation of the issues of the American revolution from the inception of the colonies, and of the constitutional clause giving Congress power over the territory of the United States, also of American, European and British theory and practice since 1787. The author's conclusion is that the United States may exercise imperial power over dependencies.

U. S. Secretary of War.—"Five Years in the War Department Following the War with Spain, 1899-1903, as Shown in the Annual Reports of the Secretary of War." Washington, 1904.

In this volume are reprinted the annual reports of the Secretary of War (Elihu Root), omitting many appendices. It includes, among other matters, the official history of the military government of Porto Rico, the military and civil administration of Cuba and the establishment of the Cuban republic, and the military and civil administration of the Philippines. The appendices here reprinted contain important documents, among them the full documentary history of the inauguration of the Cuban republic, including the Cuban constitution and the "Platt amendment."

Welsh, Herbert.—"The Other Man's Country: An Appeal to Conscience." Philadelphia, 1900.

An historical sketch of the last insurrection of the Filipinos against Spain and of the American occupation of the islands, with a strong argument against the policy of the United States in acquiring the Philippines and in suppressing the native insurrection therein.